Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-92-112
Wednesday
10 June 1992

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-92-112 *10 June 1992*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

FRONT PAGE

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CSCE Decision on FRY Delayed Until 29 Jun *[TANJUG]* 2

ALBANIA

Berisha To Discuss MFN Status With Bush *[ATA]* 3
Swedish Economic Delegation Continues Visit 3
Ruli Asks For Support, Aid *[ATA]* 3
Meksi Discusses Cooperation *[ATA]* 3
Defense Minister's Army Reform Plan Criticized *[ZERI I POPULLIT 20 May]* 3
State Has Duty To Punish Corrupt Officials *[ALTERNATIVA SD 22 May]* 4
Peasantry Subjected to 'Illegal Taxation' *[REPUBLIKA 28 May]* 5
Godo Reelected Republican Party Chairman *[ATA]* 6
Lack of 'Most Basic Equipment' Paralyzes Miners *[ALTERNATIVA SD 26 May]* 6
Article Deplores Mass Sale of Livestock Abroad *[SINDIKALISTI 27 May]* 7

BULGARIA

Premier Dimitrov Interviewed on Government, SDS *[TRUD 1 Jun]* 8
Yugoslav Ambassador Informed About Sanctions *[BTA]* 10
Expansion of Trade Relations With Cyprus Viewed *[BTA]* 10
Commentary Views Current Citizens' Rights *[VECHERNI NOVINI 28 May]* 11
Political Parties Discuss SDS Coalition *[BTA]* 12
BSP Discusses Developing Chinese Relations *[Sofia Radio]* 13
Dimitrov Protects Union Property in Ruse *[CHASA 1 Jun]* 13
Democratic Center Elects Leadership Members *[DUMA 30 May]* 13
World Bank To Release 2nd Tranche to Bulgaria *[BTA]* 13

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Klaus Meets Press on Negotiations With Meciar *[Prague Radio]* 14
Meciar Says Talks 'Complicated,' 'Difficult' *[CSTK]* 17
HZDS Refuses To Support Havel's Candidacy *[CSTK]* 17
Meciar Gives Press Briefing After Election Win *[PRAVDA 8 June]* 17
President Havel Calls Situation 'Very Serious' *[CSTK]* 19
ODS Official Calls Filkus 'Accomodating' *[Prague Radio]* 19
Distribution of Slovak National Council Seats *[Bratislava Radio]* 19
Distribution of Czech National Council Seats *[CSTK]* 19
Slovak Dailies Comment on Election Results *[CSTK]* 20
Czech Dailies Comment on Election Results *[CSTK]* 20
Strasky Denies Being Asked To Form Government *[Prague Radio]* 21

HUNGARY

National Assembly Annuls Treaty on Dam Project *[Budapest Radio]* 22
Further on Assembly Actions *[MTI]* 22
Jeszenszky, German FDP Leader Discuss Serbia *[MTI]* 22
U.S. Aid Consignment Arrives for Charity *[MTI]* 22
FSH, Local Administration Sign Agreement *[MTI]* 22
Press Release on Bonn Envoy's Resignation *[MTI]* 22
National Bank Shows Favorable Report on Economy *[MTI]* 23

POLAND

Prime Minister Pawlak Holds News Conference *[Warsaw Radio]* 24
Sejm To Examine Disclosure of Former Agents *[PAP]* 25
Milczanowski Denies Removal of Files on Agents *[PAP]* 25
Macierewicz Claims He Is Being Blackmailed *[Warsaw Radio]* 26

Tyminski Threatens Walesa, Demands Resignation *[PAP]* 26
Christian Democrat Faction Leaves Center Accord *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 2 June]* 26
Onyszkiewicz Seeking To Calm Atmosphere in Army *[PAP]* 26
Sejm Approves Direction of Privatization Program *[PAP]* 27
Sejm Prohibits Deputies' Business Activities *[PAP]* 27

ROMANIA

Chebeleu Assesses Russian Minister's Statements *[ROMPRES]* 28
Remarks on Military Regime Called 'Disinformation' *[Bucharest Radio]* 29
FSN's Roman Protests Postponement of Elections *[Bucharest Radio]* 29
PNL Says Postponement of Elections 'Realistic' *[ROMPRES]* 30
Press Comments on Postponement of Elections *[ROMPRES]* 30
Counselor Says Iliescu Needed as President *[TINERETUL LIBER 27 May]* 31
Nastase, Portuguese President Discuss Ties *[ROMPRES]* 32

BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA

Serb Leader Asks UNPROFOR To Mediate *[TANJUG]* 33
Official Comments on Fighting, Negotiations *[Sarajevo Radio]* 33
Protest Sent to UNPROFOR on Air Attack *[Sarajevo Radio]* 34
Izetbegovic Discusses Cooperation With Croatia *[TANJUG]* 34
Serb Official Criticizes Croatia's 'Aggression' *[TANJUG]* 34
Government Update of Situation in Republic *[Sarajevo Radio]* 35
Serbs Capture East Hercegovina Villages *[TANJUG]* 35
UN Peacekeeping Forces Due 10 June *[TANJUG]* 36
Official Urges Referendum on Confederation *[DANAS 26 May]* 36

CROATIA

JNA Holds Talks With Dubrovnik Representatives *[Zagreb Radio]* 38
Krajina Minister Warns on Blockade Consequences *[TANJUG]* 38
Greguric Opens Emergency Aid Meeting *[Zagreb Radio]* 38
Turkish Minister Addresses Zagreb Meeting *[TRT TV]* 38

YUGOSLAVIA

International

Presidency Issues Appeal on Bosnia-Hercegovina *[TANJUG]* 39
Eagleburger Tells Envoy Claims 'Not Accepted' *[TANJUG]* 39
United Nations To Reconsider Effect of Sanctions *[TANJUG]* 39
NATO's Galvin Cited on Sending Troops *[TANJUG]* 40
Delegation Unable To Attend Aviation Talks *[TANJUG]* 40
Arkan: Only Bosnian SDG Members in Sarajavo *[BORBA 30-31 May]* 40

Federal

Sanctions Not To Affect Food Supply in 1992 *[TANJUG]* 41
New Chamber of Citizens To Meet 11 June *[TANJUG]* 41
Airline Pilots Protest Government Actions *[TANJUG]* 41

Serbia

SPS Faction Seeks Changes in Party *[TANJUG]* 42
SPS Leader: Serbia To 'Confront' Sanctions *[Belgrade TV]* 42
Replacement of Milosevic Seen as 'Lowest Price' *[TANJUG]* 43
Draskovic Blames Milosevic, Tudjman for War *[Vienna PROFIL 9 Jun]* 43
Academicians Petition for Milosevic's Resignation *[TANJUG]* 44

Kosovo

Albanians Say No Talks Invitation Received *[TANJUG]* 44
Rugova Says Aim To Become Part of Albania *[Hamburg DER SPIEGEL 9 Jun]* 44

Montenegrin

Students Hold Antiwar Rally Outside Assembly *[TANJUG]* 45

Bosnia-Hercegovina

According to an SRNA report cited by TANJUG, Radovan Karadzic, "president of the Presidency of the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina," sent a letter to United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) representative Colonel John Wilson saying the Serbs are "ready to negotiate in the presence of UNPROFOR." Karadzic told Wilson "we are asking you to negotiate." He said the date and place were negotiable. Reacting to the offer in a statement carried by Sarajevo radio, Bosnian Presidency member Stjepan Kljujic said "we are in favor of peace, but a peace in which everyone should be called to account." Kljujic added, "There will probably be no negotiations with the terrorists about reconciliation or forgiveness or retaining the status quo."

Yugoslavia

International—The Yugslav Presidency issued an appeal calling on "all warring sides" in Bosnia-Hercegovina to "immediately and unconditionally" end armed conflict, according to TANJUG. The appeal "applies to all states that have been interfering" in the conflict, whether by sending "armed formations," supplying arms, sending financial help, or "by other activities that serve to incite the conflict." The "only way" to resolve the conflict is through "negotiations and a common agreement...of all the three constituent nations."

Serbia—A group of Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) deputies met with the executive committee of the party in a "lengthy meeting" to discuss the deputies' proposals, SPS Deputy Jovan Cvetkovic told TANJUG. Cvetkovic said the deputies were "demanding" changes in the SPS personnel since this is "where the main problem lies." If the deputies' demands are not taken "seriously," then the "dissatisfied" members will "embark on setting up a new party." TANJUG notes an "unofficially estimated figure of 50 deputies" is said to favor joining the group.

Kosovo—The vice president of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo (DSK) told TANJUG that no invitation for talks with the Serbian Government had been received "officially." Word of the talks had been received "through the media," but if an invitation were received the DSK would "discuss it and then decide whether to attend." In an interview with DER SPIEGEL, DSK Chairman Ibrahim Rugova said "our objective is...to become part of Albania."

Romania

ROMPRES reports the Foreign Affairs Ministry spokesman's assessment of Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev's "serious" statements on the Dniester region. The spokesman expressed "bewilderment at the potential inclusion of Transdniestria in Russia." After rebutting Russia's "unjustified claim" of Moldova and the Dniester region having a "different history," the spokesman concluded that the attempts of a "forced split" in Moldova would create a "hotbed of conflict with unforeseeable consequences."

The postponement of the 26 July elections has created a myriad of reactions. According to ROMPRES, the National Liberal Party (PNL) agrees with the decision by parliament by calling it a "victory of reason." The 26 July elections would have "hindered a fair election." "The most realistic option" would be to hold the elections in September or October. Bucharest radio broadcasts National Salvation Front President Petre Roman's reamrks that the parliament voted against the 26 July date "in spite of...people's general sentiment...in favor" of the date. Asked if the 26 July date was not possible now, Roman responded "it is never too late."

CSCE Decision on FRY Delayed Until 29 Jun

LD0906215292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1610 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Text] Helsinki, June 9 (TANJUG)—The decision on whether to expel Yugoslavia from the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) or have it participate in the CSCE summit in July will be put off for June 29, as TANJUG learned on Tuesday.

The committee of ranking CSCE officials, whose session opened on Monday with a review of the situation in the war-torn former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, on Tuesday resumed work with a discussion devoted to the dispute between Azerbaijan and Armenia over Nagorno-Karabakh.

In the meantime, the group of CSCE participating states "Friends of Bosnia," which is made up of the United States, Austria, Germany, Hungary, Albania, Turkey and the former Yugoslav Republics of Slovenia and Croatia, continues working on a draft declaration on the "Yugoslav crisis."

The "Friends of Bosnia" will make a special effort to persuade the Russian delegation to stop opposing Yugoslavia's expulsion from the CSCE.

The outcome of the committee's meeting will in all likelihood be a compromise—the postponement of the decision on Yugoslavia's status for three weeks.

It is said that the group "Friends of Bosnia," not being able to secure a consensus on Yugoslavia's expulsion, could accept the proposal of the Russian delegation head, Evgeniy Gusarov.

Gusarov has proposed the setting up of a special team which would follow the situation "in Bosnia-Hercegovina and other parts of Yugoslavia" and submit a full report to the committee of ranking CSCE officials on June 29.

The committee would decide on the basis of the team's report whether Yugoslavia should remain a CSCE participating state or not, and whether it should participate in the July CSCE summit or not.

The group "Friends of Bosnia" on Tuesday discussed also a request made for it to include in its draft declaration a formulation about the setting up of special observer missions for the Provinces of Kosovo and Metohija and Vojvodina, which are part of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, in view of the allegedly "alarming situation regarding the position of the Albanian and Hungarian national minorities."

A CSCE mission which visited the Province of Kosovo and Metohija from May 28 to June 2 has refuted the allegations according to which the position of the Albanian national minority—which constitutes a majority in Kosovo and Metohija—is threatened and Serbs in the province are taking extra measures to arm themselves.

The allegations were presented at the May sessions of the committee of ranking CSCE officials.

The CSCE mission said that the crisis in Kosovo and Metohija was not a military but a political one and that "the goal of ethnic Albanians, who avoid any direct contact with the Serbian authorities, is an independent Republic of Kosovo."

"Serbia will defend the integrity of its territory, which is just as important for it as it is in the case of any other country," the CSCE mission said.

The ethnic-Albanian separatist movement in Kosovo and Metohija urges that the province secede from the Republic of Serbia and join neighbouring Albania.

At the same time, official Budapest has a number of times so far demonstrated territorial claims to Serbia's northern province of Vojvodina under the guise of a concern for the position of the Hungarian national minority in that province.

Official Budapest has received support from some nationalist political parties of Vojvodina Hungarians.

The ethnic Hungarians in Vojvodina have all the rights guaranteed to national minorities under international documents—from education and media in their mother tongue, to participation in Serbia's political affairs through their national parties and associations.

Berisha To Discuss MFN Status With Bush

AU1006085392 Tirana ATA in English 0758 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Text] Tirana, June 10 (ATA)—Albanian President Sali Berisha is going to meet with President Bush at the White House. This will be the first meeting between them. During the three day visit President Berisha will also hold negotiations with American foreign minister James Baker and officials of the Congress, the administration of President Bush and World Bank. The major topic of negotiations is expected to be the status of most favoured nation [MFN] in trade between Albania and the United States and the situation in the Balkan region.

Last month, President Bush decided to grant Albania the status of the most favoured nation in the trade with the U.S.A. In April, after the establishment of the first democratic government in 50 years, the administration of President Bush reported on a new program of aid to Albania valued at 35 million dollars, including food aid estimated to 10 million dollars.

Swedish Economic Delegation Continues Visit

Ruli Asks For Support, Aid

AU0906132192 Tirana ATA in English 0921 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Text] Tirana, June 9 (ATA)—Mr. Genc Ruli, minister of economy and finances received the Swedish government delegation led by Alf Svensson, minister for the development and international cooperation and for the questions of the human rights and deputy minister of foreign affairs of Sweden.

Speaking of the alternative of defining the strategy for the future, Mr. Ruli stressed that we should attach priority to the funds to improve the economy. We have it clear that the food aid will be over some day, it means that in the meantime we should create a national production, that is we should make the economy active again. We are starting our reform having a great courage, he said, but still without having the minimum of the necessary aid. On this basis, he forwarded some of the most important fields of cooperation with Sweden. First of all, he asked for the support of this country, member of the Group of 24, for the demands of this group for Albania. Besides, Mr. Ruli said we welcome a concrete aid from Sweden concerning technical assistence, possibilities to get qualification there through intensive, financial courses, training of Albanian economists and managers. Lastly, he forwarded the possibility of receiving financial aid to realise some projects in important fields such as telecommunication, timber industry, mining and mineral processing, energy, etc.

On his part, Mr. Svensson valued the courageous stand to begin the economic reform in Albania. Mr. Svensson stressed that of priority in this direction is the development of agriculture and backed up the opinion of Mr. Ruli for the importance of the qualification of Albanian economists, financiers and managers in these fields.

Attending the reception was also the representative of the European Community at the Ministry of Economy and Finances, Mr. Ross Bull.

Meksi Discusses Cooperation

AU0906122792 Tirana ATA in English 0917 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Text] Tirana, June 9 (ATA)—The Chairman of the Council of Ministers Dr. Aleksander Meksi received on June 8 at the seat of the Council of Ministers Alf Svensson, minister for international development and cooperation and for human rights issues as well as deputy minister of foreign affairs of Sweden.

The Prime Minister Meksi spoke of the economic reform the government is applying, the difficulties that have emerged, and the efforts to overcome them. He dwelt on the possibilities for further developing the cooperation of Albania with Sweden on the field of mining, chrome, copper industry, tourism, road construction, health service, etc. Responding to the interest shown by the Swedish guest, he made an expose of the situation and demands in the sector of agriculture and fishing, pointing to the possibility for a better cooperation in the future.

On his part, Mr. Alf Svensson said that Sweden will back up Albania and pointed out that Sweden will send a high level delegation to the Group of 24 meeting, to be held in Tirana this year.

The two interlocutors shared the same opinion for better relations and cooperation between the nongovernmental organisations of the two countries.

Defense Minister's Army Reform Plan Criticized

AU0906123792 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 20 May 92 pp 2

[Article by Petrika Gjini: "The Army Has Urgent Troubles, Mr. Minister"]

[Text] A few days before Mr. Safet Zhulali gave his first interview for RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in the capacity of minister, I read somewhere extracts from an interview of a well-known Yugoslav politician, Milovan Djilas, who was speaking on the developments in the Balkans, expressing his idea that Albania may be included in a future battlefield. I could not read the entire interview, but it left a bad taste in my mouth, like every insinuation of traditional hostility against Albania, especially when it had to do with a raving representative of our former northern kings [kralj, Serbo-Croatian term kralj for king used] who at the time when Albania was being formed dreamed that Shkoder could become even their capital. Such is Djilas. His interview revolted me because he will bring the flames of the war that for a year have engulfed the Balkans, first in Croatia and now in

Bosnia-Hercegovina, more toward the south, to Kosovo and within the territory of Albania. As a politician, he knows the position of our country and he knows well that we have never provoked anybody.

But let us leave Djilas to his daydreams. Our country is faced with the wide-range predictions of Yugoslav politicians, and the distressing situation created in Kosovo—where Serbia has concentrated 200,000 troops, round the hearths of our blood-brothers, who are asking for the rights that belong to them in a legal and peaceful way. What does our defense minister say in his interview in RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE? Not a single word, as if our Army were not created to defend Albania. He writes as if the Army were undergoing a long convalescence and its leaders considered the reform to be their first and only concern.

We are not at all against the reforms in the Army, making it more capable and more effective in order to accomplish its sacred duty. However the reform you are carrying out, Mr. Minister, is being done at a time when the Army is facing a very major crisis. Just to illustrate this, I give here some admissions of servicemen who probably love the Army more than you and I do, because they bound their lives to it long ago. They say: "In X unit the officers are performing guard duty themselves and admit that discipline has collapsed and the soldiers are absent for a thousand excuses and are not prepared to perform the most elementary duties. They say: "Experienced soldiers were released before serving their time, thus seriously damaging the state of vigilance." "Not even 50 percent of the functional tasks can be accomplished with the new soldiers who have arrived in particular units." They say with regret that discipline has never been at such a low point as it is today. They assert with regret that their officer colleagues also think that maybe after one month, following the reform that is being planned in the ministry, they will be on welfare with no prospects for the future. They told me about the units where they have been working for many years, and said that unfortunately the situation is the same in other units where their colleagues work. This is the crisis of the Army today, Mr. Minister, which you as a citizen like everybody else wants to overcome as soon as possible.

But how do you answer these concerns, which I think are no secret, in your interview? Very superficially. First of all, you are preoccupied, as you say in your interview, with the structure of the ministry and the reconstruction of the apparatus, and the problems of refining the pay system, without giving an answer to what will really happen with the soldier's salaries. You then say that the reforms in the Army will continue "at a fast rate" with the "assistance of foreign experts." You also talk about "renewing the apparatus and many officials," the need "to centralize in barracks hundred of scattered units in order to achieve strength, mobility and military discipline" and you never forget to talk about the quick replacement of the star symbol. What will happen to the bunkers, and the armories that are being looted in broad daylight and at night without guard etc? You know very well the points in your interview, but I have reminded you in order to ask the question: When and how will discipline be established in the Army, the discipline that characterizes every army that claims to defend high national interests? When will the military cadres work (along with the soldiers) seriously and not with busy minds but cold hearts—as they have been working in the last few months, fearing that tomorrow they will lose their jobs with no support for the sake of the reform you are planning? Finally, when will we cultivate in our Army the ancient tradition that the borders of our homeland are inviolable and that when an Albanian dies for his native soil he feels reborn?

Unfortunately, I did not find the answer to these concerns in your interview. Of course you are new in your position and nobody blames you too much, but as a citizen I say to you that our custom for centuries has been to keep our gunpowder dry when the wolf howls at the gate. Your optimism about the promising future of relations with NATO does not calm me as a citizen, because last year we experienced the tragic events in Croatia and Bosnia, which are sufficient proof that in today's European structures the role of onlooker can be very well played. I hope the Albanians will not have this lot! Let us help ourselves, so that the world can help us.

State Has Duty To Punish Corrupt Officials

AU1006084392 Tirana ALTERNATIVA SD in Albanian 22 May 92 pp 1,4

[Article by Hysni Guda: "An Increasing Number of Millionaires and Disillusioned in Albania"]

[Text] This is a problem that worries honest citizens with each passing day, especially now that the economic level of the Albanian families is generally very low and the situation is really miserable. The concept of economic corruption includes many spheres of the economy that during the time of dictatorship were a source of speculation for years on end. For those who led the party and topped the state pyramid, this corruption sprang up from the political corruption of the totalitarian socialist system and their dominating position in official and social life. This is how we can evaluate from our present positions members of the former Workers Party Politburo who have been arrested for misappropriating funds. It is a good thing they have been arrested, and the people are expecting their trial to be held soon, because they have stolen and appropriated the fruit of the people's labor. It is better for the Ministry of Finances to further extend this control. In this connection, I pose a question: Should we verify even the property of the relatives of the families of former Workers Party Politburo members and leaders? They constitute a second stratum of corruption. Following them are those who have held important posts in ministries and institutions, such as ministers, deputy ministers, directors of directorates, etc.

If we take a look at the districts, we will notice that the first secretaries of the party committees, chairmen of the executive committees, and other secretaries of party and executive committees make up another stratum. Together with those of the previous stratum, they have taken up business and speculation after losing political power. If we were to go on, the stratification would classify as champions even some directors of enterprises, chairmen of agricultural cooperatives, etc., up to many trade workers. Of course, when I speak about these strata made up of people who have dishonestly appropriated money and profited, I do not mean all those who have worked in the above-mentioned institutions. There is no doubt that very many conscientious and honest people have worked in these institutions. The economic corruption became fashionable during the years of dictatorship, especially in those sectors that allow dishonest profits. I will stop at the trade sector. The same workers who until yesterday "put aside" money and goods in a dishonest way are still working in this sector. There is no city or village in our country where these people cannot be distinguished on account of the better economic level of their families compared with those of the workers of other sectors. This strikes one's eye, even with a simple observation. And they are not few in number. They are a great part of the butchers, dairymen, innkeepers and waiters, grocers, clothiers, green-grocers, etc., without counting here the storekeepers who were managers of corruption. Can we control their wealth? If it comes out that they have stolen things, what legal measures will we take? How are we to understand the decision of some time ago that gave all premises to the corrupt trade workers without distinguishing them from the honest ones?

We are setting up a law-governed state. I think that the primary duty of this law-governed state is to precisely verify the wealth of all those who have made it in turbulent times.

Peasantry Subjected to 'Illegal Taxation'

AU1006081492 Tirana REPUBLIKA in Albanian 28 May 92 pp 1-2

[Article by Gani Leka: "Do Peasants Today Pay Taxes?"]

[Text] If we were to pose this question to one of today's ranking politicians or an Agricultural Ministry official, they would no doubt reply, "No." They would even add that our peasants will not pay taxes for the next two years.

The three main parties of the former opposition, the Democratic, Republican, and Social Democratic Parties, guaranteed the peasants in their programs and in the electoral campaign that they would not only be exempted from all kinds of taxation for two years, but that they would be assisted by low-interest loans, machinery, etc. The peasants are no doubt now waiting for something from the first democratic government, because they have urgent needs. When a peasant sits down and thinks about the new government, he understands its problems, but also sees that somebody is exacerbating the poverty that he has inherited.

Who is encouraging this process, which threatens to cause discontent and disappointment?

They are thousands of speculators, communist-socialists turned businessmen, pseudodemocrats and, why not, even special castes who in one way or another are fighting for power or are trying to regain what they have lost. It is they who in the most unscrupulous manner are collecting taxes from the peasants in amounts that perhaps exceed those that the government might claim if it were to undertake such a thing. It is a system of illegal taxation that is bringing the peasantry to their knees. Do not be surprised. Let us mention certain examples. A group of peasants from Jub-Sukth in Durres District came to our Editorial Office a few days ago. They were not able to cover their production costs.

The fees and prices for certain labor processes and for certain necessities such as seeds, chemical fertilizer, herbicide, etc. fluctuate without reason or, rather, according to the demands of somebody's crazy desire to profit, to an extent that makes one curse God himself. Peasants (or those that are able) buy fertilizer at twice the price at which it is sold at auction. Our country does not either today or at any time need to encourage and support nasty wheeler-dealers—that stratum of people that seek to earn a profit solely as middlemen. Before everything else, it needs to stimulate production so that our consumers and light industries will not have their eyes constantly turned toward the sea. There can be no question of this happening when a peasant pays 100 leks for the plowing of one dynym [0.1 hectare] to a depth of 21-26 centimeters, the same for the irrigation of the same area, etc. However, as if this were not enough, he also has to buy the fuel himself, not at the state price of six leks, but at eight leks.

This transaction is performed with the so-called Tractor Stations who make an illegal profit at the peasants' expense. At one such enterprise, a few days ago, the Tirana Financial Police confiscated 3 million old leks earned from such an illegal sale. However, if fuel is sold in Tirana at eight leks, they say that it is sold at nine or 10 leks in other districts.

Thus, as we see, the peasants do not legally pay taxes, but in reality they pay a great deal. Why must this happen when the gasoline price has been unambiguously defined? Why must this happen when, according to Memorandum No. 3825/1 of the Agriculture Ministry the fees for agricultural services have been clearly determined at a level that the peasants are able to pay?

Some people have the explanation on the tip of their tongue: That's what the market economy is like.... Is this the logic whereby a handful of peerless speculators, wheeler-dealers, and pseudodemocrats strangle 60 percent of the population? There is nothing else that can

happen. The calculations are not difficult to perform. Whose logic is this, that of democrats or antidemocrats?

I think that there are two reasons for this illegal taxation. There is one greedy group of people who want to become millionaires in these dark days, preferably overnight, and who in the most extraordinarily selfish way look only to themselves; there is another group of these speculators who are nothing but determined antidemocrats and pseudodemocrats who wish to instill a sense of distrust, tension, and disappointment in the new government among the peasantry. It is clear to everybody, both to those who voted for democracy and those who voted against it, that the new democratic government cannot solve their problems with a magic wand. Let us be realistic and not deceive ourselves.

However, the new government must necessarily free the peasants from both the open and camouflaged taxation of speculators and pseudodemocrats who are impeding the economic reform in the countryside. Let us leave the peasant to his work. In this way, he will come to understand the government better and will be tolerant of it, because the economic reform is not directed against him but is for his sake and aims to extract him from the poverty that has hobbled him.

Godo Reelected Republican Party Chairman

AU1006091692 Tirana ATA in English 0840 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Text] Tirana, June 8 (ATA)—On June 9 afternoon the first congress of the Republican Party of Albania continued its proceedings at the Higher Institute of Arts.

The delegates discussed about the report of the Steering Committee submitted by the chairman of this party, Mr. Sabri Godo. Their contributions focused mainly on the achievements and broadening of the Republican Party ranks, its contribution to establish democracy in Albania, being the first opposition party after the democratic one, etc. The speakers brought to the fore the reasons that led to the failure of the Republican Party in March 22 elections, the scare aid of the Steering Committee of this party to its branches in various districts of the country, the insufficient work of these branches during the electoral campaign, the non qualification of the sympathizers of the party and its program, etc.

Further on they said that as a party defending the interests of the small and middle owners, it will fight in the future, too, to defend their properties by means of democratic means. They pointed also to the intensive work this party should make during the electoral campaign for the local power.

At the end of the contributions they voted for the changes to the status of this party which was approved by the delegates. They passed onto the approval of the number of the members of the Steering Committee as well as the ratio among the members of this committee residing in the capital and districts. It was approved that the Steering Committee be made up of 11 members.

Mr. Sabri Godo was elected chairman of the Republican Party.

Lack of 'Most Basic Equipment' Paralyzes Miners

AU1006084692 Tirana ALTERNATIVA SD in Albanian 26 May 92 p 2

[Article by Artur Peci: "Abandoned Selenice"]

[Text] The oldest mine in our country has now been left to the mercy of fate. The mine remains like a desert island—despite the desire of its workers to resume work. This is the Selenice bitumen mine, which has been in uninterrupted production for centuries. Although the dictatorship came to an end and the Red regime suffered its death through the March elections, but through the miners' eyes, the bureaucratic elite continues to survive under the new democracy as long as nothing changes. It seems that it is difficult to banish the past, even though an entire people may curse it.

We met with different people at this mine, including Jorgji Collaku (member of the mine's Trade Union Council) and Shpetim Xhaferi (chairman of the Independent Trade Union), who told us: "Come underground with us and see under what conditions our miners work!" However, it is not necessary to go underground in order to realize the situation of workers at this mine. Their conditions are evident from a distance. They can be seen in the miners' faces, in what they say, and in their worries and anxieties that are no less than those of other mines. They are even worse.

The Selenice miners have now long been suspended on 80 percent of their wages. The mine is not working at present. Nevertheless, they themselves want to work because this mine has reserves of bitumen for a long time and could be exploited for another 15-20 years. But how can miners work without the most basic equipment, without boots, without lamps, and without...? The things they lack are so numerous that they could not be listed in this article. Imagine for a moment emerging tired and dust-covered from the shaft, without having soap to wash yourself! It seems a paradox, but it is reality. The mine is paralyzed because there are no boots or lamps for the miners. This is the real paradox. There are now 1,500 workers waiting to resume work. Some are pipe-layers that work underground, and earn 1,000 leks. Others earn 1,400 leks. All these men work in the seams, and all are suspended on 80 percent of their wages. Who will solve this host of problems that cloud these workers' lives and future? Government bodies, the responsible officials, and even the ministry do not hear their voices. Must they therefore use the last democratic means remaining to them? Must they go on strike for their voices to be heard?

Article Deplores Mass Sale of Livestock Abroad

AU1006084992 Tirana SINDIKALISTI in Albanian 27 May 92 p 1

[Article by Rexhep Polisi: "A Death Knell That Should Be Turned Into a Sheep Bell"]

[Text] A tragedy is taking place in the village of Rrajce, before you arrive at Qafe Thane. Motor vehicles of various kinds and with different license plates move into suitable positions, and calves, cows, sheep, and livestock of all kinds are unloaded from them. The drivers, after stuffing their pockets full of leks, turn back home, while the livestock take the road of "emigration."

It is a very painful sight to see cows crossing the border, sheep bleating, people filling their pockets, and others watching! It is painful and terrible when you think that this exodus began last December and has been continuing at every hour of every day since then.

Mr. President! Members of the government! Mr. Prime Minister! People! Act as soon as possible to put a stop to this filthy trade. Do not wait for the last chicken to leave Albania!

Premier Dimitrov Interviewed on Government, SDS

AU0906102592 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian
1 Jun 92 pp 1,3

[Interview with Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov by Teodora Encheva; place and date not given: "The Prime Minister Claims that the Group of 39 and the Union of Democratic Forces Are Undivided"]

[Text] [Encheva] Let us talk about the cabinet reshuffle: Why did you defend Kostov [minister of finance] with such vehemence, while all groups within the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] insisted on his resignation from the ministerial post?

[Dimitrov] Mr. Kostov has demonstrated his qualifications and competence in administrative work and I have no reason to be dissatisfied with him.

[Encheva] You are presumably acquainted with Asen Michkovski's [SDS member of parliament] statement during the consultations about changes in the cabinet, saying that he does not trust your judgment in proposing new cabinet members on the grounds that you were under Ivan Kostov's influence.

[Dimitrov] That only makes me laugh. I have heard so many preposterous things said about me. Naturally, I consult all cabinet members with whom I am trying to reach consensus in the discussion of new appointments so that the government may function properly. I cannot disregard the opinions of various cabinet members. Whenever a team has to be put together, we should consider various important questions, such as mutual tolerance, a certain degree of understanding, and well-balanced relations.

[Encheva] Is this perhaps the reason why Mr. Ilko Eskenazi hesitated so long before accepting the position of deputy prime minister?

[Dimitrov] Yes, anyone who is offered such a position has much to reflect.

[Encheva] In an interview you gave a long time ago, before becoming prime minister, you rhetorically described Kostov either as a politician, or as an economic expert.

[Dimitrov] This must have been a long time ago. In those days it was the fashion to describe an individual either in one or the other way. The truth is that Mr. Kostov has acquired great knowledge and experience in a sphere that is exceptionally important for Bulgaria, but it is quite understandable that in our poor country, where the state treasury is empty, the minister of finance is not a very popular figure....

Nevertheless, Mr. Kostov is a very competent cabinet member.

[Encheva] Ahmed Dogan made a very peculiar concession during the government negotiations. What made this necessary?

[Dimitrov] As a matter of fact, I respect Mr. Dogan's stands and actions. In my view it is perfectly normal that two political forces, such as the SDS and the Rights and Freedoms Movement, whose relations are in the process of structuring should test the limits of their cooperation, should examine how far they can go, what to do, and so forth.... In this context I think that it was perfectly correct for Mr. Dogan to test our relations.

[Encheva] You are convinced that....

[Dimitrov] I am convinced that there was no conflict between us in the proper sense of the word.

[Encheva] Why was no political agreement signed between the SDS and the DPS?

[Dimitrov] Such an agreement was concluded, in fact.

[Encheva] Nevertheless, it was only an oral agreement.

[Dimitrov] You should know that it is not important to put such things down on paper. The agreement was publicized in the print media and the relevant mutual commitments were assumed. As far as I am concerned, I have accepted the agreement as a fact, and I am convinced that Mr. Dogan has done the same.

[Encheva] How would you comment on the statements made by Mr. Lyutfi and Mr. Dogan, only two days following the appointment of the new cabinet, expressing their hope that consultations would start soon about new nominations for the cabinet?

[Dimitrov] I do not know anything about this. I only think that the atmosphere in which the cabinet changes took place certainly required definite statements. Nothing can be perfect, anyway. Therefore, I am personally convinced that there is nothing to change for the time being. The new cabinet members should have a chance to settle down in their jobs, after which we can see how things are going.

[Encheva] Does this mean that you are not engaged in any consultations for the time being?

[Dimitrov] There are no such consultations for the time being. However, there is no reason why we should not discuss any questions likely to emerge in the future. I am always ready for contacts.

[Encheva] Nevertheless, the DPS statements on the cabinet issue were perhaps not definitive?

[Dimitrov] It is quite possible that the DPS may come out with some new ideas.

[Encheva] Mr. Dogan said that he prefers to communicate with certain SDS figures.

[Dimitrov] This is his legitimate right, which no one can deny him.

[Encheva] Would you agree that the SDS is divided into different political currents today?

[Dimitrov] We have never denied that the SDS consists of different ideological structures. They manifested themselves in a rather dramatic way during the parliamentary debates on the privatization and pensions bills and on the Land Act. It is evident that the SDS, as a political force, represents a rather centrist, liberal ideology. On the other hand, parties and individuals with more left-wing convictions are also part of the SDS. It is an act of political wisdom in this respect to reach a consensus on all these trends and to find solutions which are not opposed to the general course of our country's historical development. In other words, we need consensus, tolerance, and mutual compromise, in order to support the stands likely to implement the changes in our country. As a coalition, the SDS stands to the right of the center. Nevertheless, it is a fact that a social democratic formation could support the right-wing center position at a given moment, if it realizes that this is the correct approach for the solution of the problems dictated by the current historical circumstances. I think that this is precisely what the Social Democrats within the SDS are doing.

[Encheva] What is your evaluation of a future hegemony of the Democratic Party within the SDS?

[Dimitrov] I do not believe that such hegemonistic tendencies are likely to emerge. Experience shows that the SDS does not appreciate such trends. However, I am convinced that a leader such as Mr. Stefan Savov would not allow similar tendencies to develop. On the other hand, an amalgamation and expansion of certain groups and ideological currents in the SDS would only be natural. Nevertheless, we have not observed such amalgamations, for the time being, no parties are currently merging, despite the fact that I wonder why certain parties within the SDS stand alone and why they should not merge. However, this is a question of personal preference. I am convinced, whatever the circumstances, that only 4-5 parties, rather than 17, are likely to exist in the future, and this is how it should be.

[Encheva] People are saying that for purely practical reasons, the left-wing side of the SDS is beginning to become right-wing?

[Dimitrov] Let us first agree what left-wing and right-wing actually mean. For the time being, we cannot afford collectivist approaches, such as the request that social protection should prevail over the urge for private initiative. Nevertheless, Bulgaria has a rather narrow framework of action today. The efforts to preserve the structures of the state, which we can hardly prevent from falling apart after a gigantic cataclysm such as the change of the regime, which was not simply a change of regime, but the change of a whole concept and structure, and of the entire state as an institution, are inevitable. Therefore, I regard the conservative trends of preserving the institutions, of concern for the budget, which is the material expression of the institutions's existence, as a right-wing-centrist orientation. Anyone who comes out and starts solving the problems, in the leftist manner, with great elan, promising everyone a lot of money, which can actually only be earned by the printers' shop that prints such stories, but is likely to increase the people's poverty under the pretext of caring about social welfare, is simply not the right person to solve our current problems.

[Encheva] One of the most frequent personal criticisms against you is that you are too soft in your decisions and actions.

[Dimitrov] I cannot speak on my own behalf.

[Encheva] However, such criticism is not recent, and was expressed by people who have known you for a long time. Why is your behavior still described as such?

[Dimitrov] I do not know. This is up to you, the media, to decide, or perhaps it is the job of psychoanalysts.

[Encheva] Nevertheless, are you not concerned about the fact that in a post-totalitarian state, such as ours, the prime minister is characterized as a soft politician. Who is supposed to profit from this?

[Dimitrov] I have my own view on what is soft and what is hard. As you know, in the final account, the evaluation of a stand depends on whether it is accepted or not. When the stand of an individual is not accepted, it is time for him to go, and that is that.

[Encheva] Approximately one and a half years ago you said that a politician must leave the scene when he can no longer exert an influence. This situation has often affected Bulgaria recently.

[Dimitrov] You are talking about politicians leaving the scene? Quite a few people have disappeared over the last two years, as a matter of fact. I would just like to say that I can forecast at this very moment, what Pushkarov and Ludzhev, the two cabinet members who left us, are going to do in the future.

As far as Pushkarov is concerned, I am convinced that he will be a brilliant parliamentarian on account of his professional competence. As far as Mr. Ludzhev is concerned, there is no doubt that he will be active.

[Encheva] Why did the "government of action" begin to turn into a "government of hope for the country's rescue from chaos"?

[Dimitrov] I have never noticed anything of the kind. However, preserving the country against chaos is also a form of action.

[Encheva] Why did the fear of chaos emerge at all?

[Dimitrov] Because the reform is in progress. Hence, the opportunities of some notorious circles to defend their positions are dwindling. Therefore, they are looking out for chaos. This shows, however, that the government is doing its job, and so is parliament.

[Encheva] The new cabinet has hardly started its work and now people are already forecasting that it will hardly survive the next 2-3 months.

[Dimitrov] This is certainly the wishful thinking of some well-known circles.

[Encheva] Do you sometimes have the feeling of a conspiracy going on behind your back?

[Dimitrov] I would not say so. Naturally, there are different moods, different trends, and different aspirations.

[Encheva] There has been frequent talk about your future resignation from the post of SDS chairman.

[Dimitrov] I have considered this question, indeed. Things have to be well-balanced. From a certain point of view, the coordination of the two positions plays a definite role. On the other hand, it is true that, as a prime minister I cannot do what I did as SDS chairman. Hence, there are quite a few "pros" and "cons."

[Encheva] Have you ever thought about a successor?

[Dimitrov] I should think about it....

[Encheva] What is your opinion on the group of 39 which Aleksandur Yordanov claims is a group of 110?

[Dimitrov] You know that I was in favor of walking out of parliament as early as in February-March 1991. Nevertheless, Mr. Yordanov's theory is exceptionally wise. It shows that the group of 39 reflects all developments within the SDS. It means that the SDS identifies itself with this group of people. To claim that there is the SDS stand on one side, and that the group of 39 belongs to another side, would mean that there are two opposing groups within the SDS. This is not true, because we are not talking about structures, we are talking about a symbol, about intellectual affinities that link a certain group of people together. In this context Mr. Yordanov is right.

Those who did not agree with the proposal of dissolving parliament, of holding new elections and so forth are no longer with the SDS.

The stand of parliament, the government, and the SDS is one and the same. If we should no longer share this stand within the SDS, our union would be likely to dissolve. The fact that we have discussions and even disputes, that we have quarrels and reconciliations is a totally different question. However, as long as we can find a common solution for our problems, the SDS will exist. All the rest is a question of personal evaluations.

Yugoslav Ambassador Informed About Sanctions

AU0906164992 Sofia BTA in English 1540 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Text] Sofia, June 9 (BTA)—Deputy Foreign Minister Valentin Dobrev today summoned the ambassador of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to Sofia, Mr. Milenko Stefanovic, to inform him of the measures adopted by the Bulgarian Council of Ministers for the implementation of the May 30, 1992 UN Security Council resolution on sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro, the Foreign Ministry's spokeswoman Veneta Momcheva told BTA.

The measures to be taken by the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs include reduction of the staff of the Yugoslav Embassy to Sofia, a ban on the participation in sports events on Bulgarian territory of persons or groups of persons representing Serbia and Montenegro, as well as suspension of scientific and technological cooperation, cultural exchange and visits by persons officially sponsored by or representing Serbia and Montenegro.

Expansion of Trade Relations With Cyprus Viewed

AU0906122392 Sofia BTA in English 1048 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Doriyana Ruseva report: "Cypriot Entrepreneurs Show Great Interest in Bulgaria"]

[Text] Nicosia, June 9 (BTA)—The establishment of joint enterprises in Bulgaria and the purchase and setting into operation of losing Bulgarian enterprises by Cypriot entrepreneurs were the two main topics of my talks in Sofia, said Mr. Takis Nemitsas, minister of commerce and industry of Cyprus.

In an interview for the PHILELEFTHEROS daily, Mr. Nemitsas, who accompanied president Yeoryios Vasiliou during his visit to Bulgaria in late May, points out that there are extremely favourable conditions for cooperation and for the setting up of joint Bulgarian-Cypriot enterprises and that a lot has already been done to this end.

At the same time keen interest is also being shown in the starting of large construction projects such as the building of a new airport in Sofia and of a highway connecting the Bulgarian capital to the countries of the Common Market, Mr. Nemitsas added.

The 13 million Cyprus pounds credit for encouraging in import of Cyprian goods in Bulgaria will greatly increase the possibilities for promoting our trade contacts and above all Cypriot export to Bulgaria. That is why President Vasiliou proposed to set up a Cypriot commercial bank in Sofia to serve the payments between the two countries.

Mr. Takis Nemitsas pointed out that an agreement was reached to hold a week of Cypriot goods in Bulgarian this

autumn as well as a week of Bulgarian goods in Cyprus next year. Cyprus will resume its imports of Bulgarian lamb and veal.

Commentary Views Current Citizens' Rights

AU0806110092 Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI in Bulgarian 28 May 92 pp 1,2

[Article by Rumen Vodenicharov, member of the Bulgarian "Helsinki Watch": "Rule-of-Law State Is a Distant Dream"]

[Text] In 1989, Freedom House in New York evaluated the situation of human rights in Bulgaria as follows: Our country's rating for the political system was grade 6, while for the observance of human rights Bulgaria was awarded grade 5.

Considering that grade 7 was the rating for one-man dictatorship and total violation of human rights, we had no reason to be very pleased. Our country was evidently far removed all criteria of democracy. The people's demands voiced at street rallies were numerous and angry, and their impatience and euphoria on the subject of human rights were growing.

The situation quickly improved in less than a year. The political system became a parliamentary democracy, and nearly all human and civil rights were restored, with the exception of restrictions, such as the ban on party activities in working places, and the depoliticization of individuals working in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of Defense, Armed Forces, the courts of justice, and the Prosecutor's Office. Thousands of citizens felt free. The repressive measures belonged to the past. Bulgarian citizens were able to serve national interests rather than party interests. The Freedom House evaluations about Bulgaria in 1990 improved to grade 3 for the political system and grade 3 for the observance of human rights.

It was time to speed up the adoption of economic legislation.

The new Constitution consolidated and guaranteed civil rights in our country. However, as early as at the time of its drafting, it became evident that part of the SDS parliament members had forgotten why they were sitting in the Grand National Assembly. Like one of the characters in Russian writer Griboyedov's works, who cried: "I do not want to study, I want to get married instead," the deputies in question were whining that they did not want the Constitution, they would rather have new elections instead. Those 39 deputies had some points in common. Some of them demanded the restitution of property, while others were striving for revenge against their former comrades. The great supporters of the group of 39 deputies in those days were the president and some cabinet members, such as Ludzhev, Pushkarov, and Kostov.

The less important group of supporters was represented by 18 deputies (five of whom were informers of the State Security Service and about 10 of them were former Communists). They were constantly walking out of the plenary session, being offended that the Constitution allegedly restricted their rights as a political party and their right to learn the Turkish language. Those two-faced individuals who were trained for the export of revolution to the Islamic world, in the past, decided that it was high time to play the game of national interests by manifesting themselves as Turkish separatists.

Ahmed Dogan, their leader, could conceal his contempt for the Bulgarian legislation only in one way, namely by being absent from the Grand National Assembly, or by attending the sessions in silence.

The first breaches of law started in May 1991. The Credentials Commission established and confirmed that Deputy Stoyan Ganev was elected through manipulations and was not entitled to remain in parliament. Nevertheless, Dertliev, Kornazhev, and others decided that by canceling his election they would make him appear a hero. The president also committed a series of violations. He did not take the oath on the Constitution (as required by procedure) and replaced the staff of the Central Electoral Commission, thus allowing that the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS] be admitted to the second parliamentary elections—which was a breach of the Constitution. The great plot against democracy was crowned by the adoption of the proportional Electoral Law. We should point out that in addition to other unpleasant consequences stemming from this fact, 20 percent of the municipalities in our country today are ruled by mayors who identify themselves as Turks.

The symptoms we observed at the time of the Grand National Assembly were consolidated in the system of government which was established after SDS assumed the whole executive power thanks to the DPS. Former Communists, such as Nikolay Vasilev, Ludzhev, and Pushkarov were ruling the state according to the well-known methods of the totalitarian past—namely by decrees and instructions. At the same time Mssrs. Savov, Staliyski, Georgi Markov, Buchkov, and Aleksandur Yordanov, in turn, decided to direct the National Assembly's legislative work toward "democracy through restoration," and "toward privatization through restitution." The tone was set by Nikolay Vasilev, who issued an instruction on introducing the Turkish language in Bulgarian public schools. This was done irrespective of the existing National Education Act which banned the Turkish language from public schools. No matter! As long the gentlemen in question declared even the Constitution as flawed, how could we expect them to observe the laws?

People did not react to the first breach of the Constitution. They were tired of noisy political struggles and were concerned about their own survival under the conditions of growing unemployment and inflation.

At this point, the gentlemen who are ruling our country decided that they were free to act as they pleased. They engaged in new series of illegal acts that is still going on. The Constitutional Court did not find the strength of declaring the DPS illegal and anti-constitutional. Hence, the DPS dictates the laws and appoints ministers with the self-confidence that its deputies are actually pulling the strings of state affairs. Having established a totalitarian single-party system in the Turkish villages, the Dogan people continue to apply their favorite methods—namely two-faced standards. They totally disregard the human rights of the individual citizen. On the other hand, they would do anything for the rights of the Muslim community. Each of their demands is anti-Bulgarian. This applies both to the language question and to pensions for emigres, and also to the Turkish economic zone (called Black Sea Zone to conceal its real purposes). It also applies to the question of recognizing Bosnia and to the problem of purchasing land. Yunal Lyutfi, one of the DPS leaders, is instructing his compatriots how to proceed in this case by urging them: "You should purchase land. Do not think about the money. You should realize that it is not simply land you are purchasing, it is territory."

The most outrageous violations are now being committed by denying landowners the right to join agricultural cooperatives, a right that was granted to them by the original Land Act of the Grand National Assembly. The same applies to the mass purges for political reasons conducted in various public departments, in enterprises, and educational establishments, scientific institutions, and so forth. While the human rights of individual citizens were violated in the past, today thousands, and I would even say millions, of Bulgarian citizens are subject to a series of restrictions that are inadmissible for any real democracy.

The evaluation on human rights in Bulgaria (which I mentioned at the beginning of my article) in 1992 could be only slightly better than the one in 1989. For example: The rating for the political system could be only grade 5 (considering that we live under a parliamentary dictatorship), while the rating for the observance of human rights could be only grade 4, since 13 articles of Chapter II of the Constitution have been violated. In addition to this, the breaches are committed by the government and by a political party, namely the SDS (Movement), and by individual citizens. The law is not respected. The courts of justice are far from being independent. The same applies to the legal defense organs. For the first time in the last two years, the police forces were used for repressive measures against peacefully protesting peasants. It is no coincidence that the population of Ruzhevo Konare Village launched the slogan: "While wading in a sea of democracy, we are thirsty for democracy!" The nostalgia for the past period of developed socialism is growing. The rule-of-law state is a distant dream.

The citizens' rights and obligations could be compared to the poles of a magnet. They cannot be separated from each other. Whoever demands rights, without thinking about the relevant obligations, is inclined toward anarchy. Anarchy, in turn, can only be eliminated by dictatorship or war. If this happens, human rights, generally speaking, could not even be mentioned. The living example for this exists in the immediate vicinity of our borders. I am talking about events in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Political Parties Discuss SDS Coalition

AU0906192792 Sofia BTA in English 1653 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Iva Toncheva report: "Talk of Alternative to Changes in Bulgaria"]

[Text] Sofia, June 9 (BTA)—In the first half of July the ruling Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) will call a conference to discuss, on the basis of expert reports, the political situation in the country and to formulate ideas on the development of the coalition.

The decision was made today at a meeting of the SDS National Coordinating Council, SDS floor leader Aleksandur Yordanov told the press. The exact date will be fixed later on. The conference will have a working character only. The participants will attend it in an expert capacity only.

"The conference will discuss the overall political situation in the country, it will seek forms, including alternative ones, to push ahead with the democratic process," Mr. Yordanov said.

Leaders of the ruling coalition, too, already start talking about alternative versions of the changes underway in Bulgaria now.

The centrist forces, forming the Bulgarian Democratic Centre, have been the keenest proponents of a change for several months now. The centre brought together several parties and movements which broke away from the SDS before the October 1991 elections. They did not collect enough votes to return any of their candidates to the incumbent parliament.

The opposition Socialist (former Communist) Party is also talking about an alternative to the SDS policy. It keeps criticizing sharply the SDS government and describes its policy as absolutely wrong.

The Alliance for Social Democracy, a formation within the BSP, also campaigns for an alternative. The Alliance activists, however, take a view of the SDS which differs from the top leadership of their party. They do not believe that "SDS is a genetically defective coalition," as the members of the BSP Supreme Council put it. At their first national conference last weekend, leaders of the Alliance spoke about contacts with the ruling coalition. In its resolution, however, the Alliance categorically stated that it has an alternative policy to the changes underway now.

The SDS policy lays itself open to criticism inside the coalition itself. Critical remarks on the changes came recently from members of the Alternative Social Liberal Party (ASP), led by Prof. Nikolay Vasilev. As the ASP sees it, in the eight months of its tenure the SDS managed to antagonize political forces and social strata. ASP leaders and activists occupy key positions in National Assembly standing committees and in the cabinet.

However, it will not be known earlier than in a month's time whether the SDS will change the pace and direction of the reform, and this will be implied in the experts' evaluations.

BSP Discusses Developing Chinese Relations

AU0906185292 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Text] On 9 June in Sofia, the regular weekly news conference of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] took place. Mr. Aleksandur Lilov told about his visit to China, where he made a visit at the invitation of the Chinese Organization for International Exchange. The goal of the visit was to get acquainted with the reform in China.

Mr. Lilov said that China is prepared to develop relations with Bulgaria.

BSP leader Zhan Videnov spoke about the opposition's attitude to opening personal files. The parliamentary opposition has no problem with introducing openness in the work of the National Security Services. However, the BSP is concerned that the crude politicized interference with the National Security Services could inflict irreparable damage to those services.

Dimitrov Protects Union Property in Ruse

AU0906112392 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 1 Jun 92 p 3

[Text] The property of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria [KNSB] belongs to the state and is not subject to confiscation, states a letter from Filip Dimitrov to the Ruse oblast administrator and the mayor of Ruse.

The trade union property, which includes two buildings and vehicles for which the finance minister issued a confiscation order, will not be touched.

According to a protocol issued on 9 May 1991, the KNSB in Ruse transferred its real estate to the Sofis Joint Stock Company. Ivan Kostov's orders have proved so far to be invalid.

The prime minister recommends that the seizure of the property should be suspended and that the bank accounts should be unfrozen.

Democratic Center Elects Leadership Members

AU1006082392 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 30 May 92 p 2

[DUMA PRESS report: "Bulgarian Democratic Center Appoints Leadership Members"]

[Text] On 27 May, Petko Simeonov was elected chairman of the Bulgarian Democratic Center. On 29 May through a secret vote, members of the organization's leadership were elected.

Valentin Tserovski and Petur Staykov were elected deputy chairmen of the Bulgarian Democratic Center. Stefan Gaytandzhiev was elected organizational secretary; Lyubomir Stefanov—national coordinator; Stilyan Stoychev—spokesman; and Stefan Stoyanov—director of international activity. This was announced by the Bulgarian Democratic Center Press Bureau.

World Bank To Release 2nd Tranche to Bulgaria

AU0906192692 Sofia BTA in English 1700 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Text] Sofia, June 9 (BTA)—The World Bank mission will recommend to the bank's Governing Board to release the 100 million dollars of the second tranche of the Structural Adjustment Loan (SAL) to Bulgaria, the World Bank's SAL Mission leader for Bulgaria, Mr. John Wilton, told a press conference today.

Mr. Wilton arrived in Bulgaria two weeks ago. The purpose of this visit is to review the meeting of the World Bank's second tranche conditions. The mission was in Bulgaria in February when it found that this country had not met several important tranche conditions.

There are no serious problems to dissuade us from disbursing the second trance of the loan, said Mr. Wilton. Certain issues still remain to be solved, but they are quite insignificant: The agricultural reform should be completed, privatization should begin, the structural adjustment of state enterprises should continue, the reform in the finance sector should also be carried out, social security leaves much to be desired, too. The necessary laws have already been passed and now they remain to be effected, according to the World Bank's Mission.

Asked whether the 100 million dollars would be sufficient and what Bulgarian needs it would meet, Finance Minister Ivan Kostov replied that little as the money might be, it would provide one fourth of the resources in the Reconstruction and Development Fund earmarked for the structural adjustment of the Bulgarian economy.

Klaus Meets Press on Negotiations With Meciar

LD0906175792 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1300 GMT 9 Jun 92

[News conference by Jiri Schneider, press spokesman for the Civic Democratic Party (ODS); ODS Chairman Vaclav Klaus; ODS Deputy Chairman Jiri Kovar; and an unidentified announcer with unidentified correspondents in Prague—live]

[Excerpts] [Schneider] The ODS Executive Council met within the last hour and issued a statement. Let me introduce you to those who will participate in today's news conference. [passage omitted]

Now, the promised statement:

The ODS Executive Council met today to discuss the report on talks between the ODS and the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS]. The Executive Council fully supports the course of action taken by the ODS chairman and deputy chairmen during these talks and gives them the power to conduct further talks and brief the public in full.

9 June 1992

Prague

I think the last sentence could serve as an introduction to this news conference. Over to ODS Chairman Vaclav Klaus:

[Klaus] I'll sum up last night's talks in Brno since I think that is what you are most interested in. We arrived in Brno for talks with Meciar and the HZDS on finding a solution and arriving at an agreement to fulfill what we embodied in our election program and what we repeatedly said during our election campaign. I would like to stress that the talks were completely composed and matter-of-fact and in no way overemotional. I wish to stress this. The core of the matter was debated and not marginal or trivial issues. The talks were about the very essence of the problem.

Our starting points were our preelection declarations on a functional common state at the level of a sensible federation, the continuation of economic reform, and support for a second republican presidential term for Vaclav Havel. Indeed, these stands proved not just marginally or partially different but fundamentally different from HZDS stands. We say this quite unequivocally and openly; it would be totally irresponsible to distort this in any way.

It has been shown that the HZDS is not aiming at a common state. The HZDS wants what it calls an economic-defensive association or union. It wants two states as international subjects. They are inspired by the Visegrad troika or some sort of minimodel of the future EC rather than by a standard, real situation anywhere in the world, with a subsequent, gradual integration, and so forth.

How to intepret these stands? What do they mean in practice?

First, negotiations on a union or an association of two sovereign states are negotiations on a separation or cancellation of a common state and not on its preservation. We must use specific terms and not camouflage to mislead the public, politicians, simply everybody.

Second, we do not share the illusions of our negotiating partners on the meaning, stability, or success of such a peculiar nonstandard entity and its advantage in the widest sense of the word for the citizens of this country. This is from the perspective of a long-term goal.

Third, we do not share the illusion of the possibility of a slow, nonviolent, easy transition from the federation to a union of this type. We do not share the illusion of a planned, accountable split or the illusion that it would cost us nothing.

This is how we interpret these words and stands. On the other hand, it is quite clear to us that it is impossible to break off such negotiations or wait passively. It is necessary to carry on, to form quickly federal bodies which are now practically nonexistent or only exist formally. We will try to form a Federal Assembly and a smaller, slimmer Federal Government with a short program declaration which could start functioning as soon as possible. This country cannot afford to be nonfunctional.

We are prepared to continue negotiations. Talks will continue here, in Prague, on 11 June. We are still amenable to talks and ready to find a sensible solution. However, talks so far have led us to the conclusions and interpetations I just outlined.

[Announcer] You can now ask questions. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Mr. Meciar issued a statement today saying that the ODS has recognized Slovakia's steps toward declaring sovereigny and adopting a Slovak constitution as fully legitimate. Is this correct? Has the ODS recognized the steps as legitimate?

My second question: Vladimir Meciar's statement says that the HZDS proposed that the Czech side take similar steps. Is this the case? Does the ODS (?want) to propose steps toward Czech sovereignty and a Czech constitution?

[Klaus] Mr. Kovar will answer this.

[Kovar] When we discussed the legitimacy of steps at last night's talks we spoke only about the legitimacy of political representatives discussing this country's future. Certainly, formulation of that kind was not mentioned there.

[Klaus] We debated a general, obvious agreement that included the rights of Slovakia, Slovak citizens, and the

Slovak nation to seek their own sovereignty and independence as this is in harmony with our current constitution. Nevertheless, this was only in general terms; there was no formulation of that kind at all. However, this is not dramatic. Concerning steps from the Czech side, naturally it is emerging that the HZDS would welcome Czech representatives taking similar steps. However, we must think very hard about the kinds of steps to take. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Has the HZDS set any specific deadline for the talks to end and for a Federal Government to be appointed?

[Klaus] We insist that the Federal Government be appointed before the presidential elections so that this country can function. This varies fundamentally with the HZDS stand. However, I feel that there is no other issue on which our views are closer in the search for a jointly acceptable solution than on this issue. Just to give you a preview, the 11 June talks will concern two basic issues: composition of the new Federal Assembly—naturally, this depends on other political subjects besides the ODS and the HZDS; nevertheless, we will exchange basic, detailed views on this issue—and the structure and tasks of the new Federal Government. This will be discussed on 11 June. If the talks are successful, we would like to continue discussions on drafting the policy statement on 14 June.

[Correspondent] [passage omitted including indistinct portions]

[Klaus] We do not know. We said that the 11 June meeting will take place in Prague.

[Correspondent] Mr. Klaus, can you see a jointly acceptable question for a referendum, acceptable to you and Mr. Meciar?

My second question: Is there a threat that left-wing forces will try to take power in the Federal Assembly?

[Klaus] Referring to your second question, we do not suspect anything like that. The question of a referendum: Naturally, we, in principle, think that these elections were a referendum. Elected politicians should feel that they have a mandate to do this or that. If they do not feel strong enough to do this or that, then they do not believe their voters or do not believe in the election results. A proposal for a referendum in a few months naturally reflects some uncertainty of Slovak partners if they really have a mandate to carry out such a division of Czechoslovakia. If there were a referendum now, then there would have to be a parallel referendum in the Czech Republic. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Have you discussed the size of the Federal budget? Or do you intend to discuss this and its redistribution? What I have in mind is the rate of redistribution between the Republics. How far is the ODS willing to go in subsidizing Slovakia in the interest of preserving the federation?

[Klaus] This question is irrelevant. First, we did not discuss this issue. Second, the redistribution question is not on the agenda in case of separation. Anything of this kind would simply be unimaginable.

[Correspondent, in English] [passage omitted including indistinct portions]

[Klaus] Let me repeat the question in Czech: Is it possible that a solution to the Federal Government issue will be reached on 11 June? The second question concerned the president and his candidacy, etc.

First, should I answer in Czech or English? All right, in Czech. As for forming the Federal Government, we think there will be a problem not with the people but with the tasks the Federal Government will have to tackle. It seems that the latter will be much more difficult than the former, which is why it appears that the Federal Government's fundamental task should be to draft a program statement which would de facto be relevant and valid until the outcome of the referendum is known. We do not consider the personnel issue something fatal, and I do not think that it should present any fundamental problems.

[Correspondent, in Slovak] Which Federal Government posts are the HZDS demanding?

[Klaus] That was not discussed for it is not a key question. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent, in English] [passage omitted including indistinct portions]

[Klaus] Shall I translate again? We said that we will hold on to the federation on the condition that the present speed and direction of economic reform continues. The question is: Will we stand by that statement when Bratislava appears to have a different economic reform program?

During the 6 and ½ hours of talks, we did not venture into a deeper debate on economic issues, and the talks reached a stalemate long before we got to the economy. Maybe that in itself is important information.

[Correspondent] [passage omitted including indistinct portions]

[Klaus] The question was whether we intend to negotiate with Mr. Meciar over President Havel's candidacy. We already have. We did that, and our stand is firm on this matter. Mr. Meciar knows that we continue to promote Vaclav Havel's candidacy. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent, in English with announcer's passage by passage translation into Czech] Mr. Klaus, you have told us about the issues on which you and Mr. Meciar disagree. Could you tell us in 60 minutes or less...

[Klaus, interrupting] 30 minutes!

[Correspondent, in English with announcer's passage by passage translation into Czech] Could you brief us on the

issues on which you agree with Mr. Meciar that would benefit the citizens of the Czechoslovak Republic?

[Klaus] There are not many issues on which we agree. We agree that the elections, both in the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic, presented legitimate winners. The legitimate winners, not quite in accordance with many people's expectations, have the right to do something in this country, to codecide, to decide. Clearly, we are no doubt as one on this. We also agree that it is necessary to solve this issue quickly because any kind of protracted tassle over these matters would put all of us living in this country at an enormous disadvantage. Those are the key issues.

[Correspondent, in English with announcer's passage by passage translation into Czech] Are there any significant matters on which you agree?

[Klaus] There is a number of issues pertaining to the rationalization of the central bureaucracy, the restriction, the significant restriction of the number of Federal Government members. I do not feel that we have substantial differences on some of the issues of division of powers, i.e. what should remain on the federation level and what should remain on the republican level. There are no differences among those matters that are indefinite or that cannot be deciphered. Alas, it was impossible to have a detailed discussion on these matters because talks were repeatedly bogged down by preceding items.

[Correspondent] Let us imagine that a Federal Government is formed, is confirmed by the parliament, and starts working. Suppose the Slovak side starts preparing to implement Mr. Meciar's five-point plan for declaring sovereignty, the international status of Slovakia as a subject of international law, etc. What guarantees will the ODS give to prevent the Federal Government from becoming a mere coverup of events on the Bratislava side?

[Klaus] Naturally, the ODS expects a clear-cut political agreement to be signed before parliament or government begins its work. The agreement should bound both sides in their behavior and allow only those steps that can be controlled and regulated and that prevent destabilization and chaos. This agreement should be followed by a mutually drafted Federal Government program statement stipulating clear rules and barriers for the behavior of all main political subjects.

[Correspondent] Radio Moscow: If you do not strike an agreement on forming the Federal Government, what will the next course of action be? Will you form a minority government, for example? [Words indistinct] there is a likelihood that some body will have to be created...

[Klaus, interrupting] No, we must admit that the issue of a minority government has not been mentioned, unless my colleagues correct me. I think there is a different variant, boiling down either to the establishment of a new government or to the perpetuation of the old government. However, this would be a government which would be very much weakened by the outcome of the elections, and it would probably not possess the needed impact and appropriate muscle to carry out the measures which are absolutely and totally essential.

[Announcer] Mr. (Machacek), if you please.

[Correspondent] What course of action will you take in the event that the Slovak National Council denounces in a fortnight the validity of some Federal laws, such as the Screening Law and the Law on Federal Television, on Slovak Republic territory? There are more of these laws. What are your intentions with regard to continuing talks with the HZDS after such a step has been taken?

[Klaus] Pardon me for saying so, but we used the words negotiate and to conclude basic agreements. Naturally, this basic agreement must clearly define such elementary issues as the withdrawal or nonwithdrawal of some laws. This issue will be on the agenda. I must admit that yesterday, after 6 and ½ hours of talks, these issues did not get on the agenda.

[Announcer] If you please.

[Correspondent, in English with announcer's passage by passage translation into Czech] Mr. Klaus, who is bluffing whom?

[Klaus] I told you in the beginning that I did not say just by accident that the talks were business-like and calm and that bluffing was not at all at issue. Should bluffing be the issue, then it could possibly be a good thing. It would give far more hope if it was bluffing, because after a bluff one can, of course, play a different card, as if one was to play another round, so to speak. We are afraid that bluffing was not the issue. We must admit that our collocutors presented their views consistently, indicating that these are not just one-off, erratic, and unstable opinions. It appears to be an internally interlocked system of conceptions and, in this sense of the word, one cannot speak of bluffing.

[Correspondent, in German] [passage omitted including indistinct portions]

[Klaus] I should translate the question: Mr. Meciar held talks in Slovakia with former communists and other left-wing parties. Do we consider this acceptable? Are we planning to do anything similar? Yes. I must say that such a fundamental issue as the future of the country which has coexisted since 1918, 74 years, we would never dare decide on our own without a basic consensus not only of right-wing parties—that is, the Christian Democratic Party, the Christian Democratic Union, and the Civic Democratic Alliance...[changes thought] I spoke with two political parties yesterday—Horak, Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party chairman, and Trnka, of the Liberal and Social Union—to get a feeling for at least an elementary consensus with these parties on the state setup issue. I hope they do not disagree with me,

but I can say that, basically, elementary consensus exists on this issue. I can disclose to all that we feel that we should have this feeling of elementary support.

[Correspondent, in English with announcer's passage by passage translation into Czech] Is a federation truly a federation if a republic abolishes federal law on its territory?

My second question: Would you rather be the prime minister of a weak federation or the prime minister of a republic?

[Klaus] I will let the chairman of the Federal Assembly's Constitutional and Legal Committee answer the legal question. [passage omitted on Committee chairman's response]

[Klaus] Concerning your second question—whether I would prefer to be the prime minister of a weak Federal Government or a prosperous republican government in the Czech Republic, as the question was in fact put—this also will be a result of further talks. However, if you're really interested, I would not be interested in being the prime minister of a self-liquidating Federal Government. [passage omitted]

Meciar Says Talks 'Complicated,' 'Difficult'

LD0906131292 Prague CSTK in English 1129 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Text] Bratislava June 9 (CSTK)—The Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) does not think a federal government can be formed by July 5, as suggested by the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), HZDS Chairman Vladimir Meciar said in a statement conveyed to reporters today.

In the statement which dealt with his talks with ODS Chairman Vaclav Klaus in Brno last night, Meciar says the HZDS does not feel the need to speed up the forming of a federal government until questions of Czechoslovakia's future state setup and course of economic reforms are resolved. The HZDS links its participation in a new federal government to an agreement on the government's political programme, Meciar said.

He added that the HZDS also links the composition of a federal government to an agreement on reducing the number of ministries.

Meciar described his talks with Klaus as complicated and difficult.

He said after the ODS pointed out it has a mandate to discuss only a federation or the country's break-up, the Slovak side reacted that citizens should be given a chance to express themselves in a referendum. The two sides agreed a referendum would be called by the Czech and Slovak parliaments.

The ODS acknowledged the full legitimacy of Slovakia's steps towards declaring its sovereignty and adopting a Slovak constitution, and the HZDS proposed that the Czech side take similar steps, but the ODS made no comment, Meciar said.

Meciar's spokesman Bohuslav Geci, who conveyed Meciar's statement, told the Slovak News Agency TKSR the HZDS was surprised that Klaus informed reporters about his talks with Meciar after they ended early this morning.

He said the two sides agreed that Klaus would report on the talks at a press conference Tuesday afternoon. The HZDS kept to the agreement, possibly to the detriment of Bratislava reporters and possibly also to the detriment of the HZDS, Geci added.

HZDS Refuses To Support Havel's Candidacy

LD0906124592 Prague CSTK in English 1054 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Text] Bratislava June 9 (CSTK)—The Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) agrees to a citizen of the Czech Republic becoming Czechoslovakia's new president, but refuses to support President Vaclav Havel's candidacy.

This is said in a statement by HZDS Chairman Vladimir Meciar on last night's talks with the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), which was conveyed to reporters today by Meciar's spokesman Bohuslav Geci.

Meciar Gives Press Briefing After Election Win

AU1006074692 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 8 Jun 92 pp 1,2

[Frantisek Melis report: "First of All, It Is Necessary To Tell the People the Truth"]

[Text] Bratislava—Yesterday's press briefing given by the leaders and representatives of the election-winning movement in Slovakia was the focus of extraordinary attention from domestic and foreign journalists. Its chairman, Vladimir Meciar, made the following introductory statement:

"In my opinion, the fact that in 1991 the parties of the ruling coalition abandoned the government program and that the victorious party committed electoral fraud because it renounced responsibility for executive power was instrumental in influencing the results of the elections. Slovakia was divided and these elections have now healed this trauma. Furthermore, the comprehensive, prolonged, and unconstructive negotiations on constitutional and legal relations intensified the feeling of mistrust between Czechs and Slovaks and did not even address one matter-of-fact issue. Slovakia reacted in its own way to economic reform, reform that has deviated from the original scenario. This reform did not respect the republic's special economic features and intensified the overall crisis in the Slovak economy."

A barrage of questions and answers followed this statement.

[Unidentified reporter] You often stated prior to the elections that you will not enter into a coalition with the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL]. Do you still insist on this?

[Meciar] Negotiations on post-election cooperation with the Slovak political parties, including the SDL, will begin on Monday [8 June]. At the moment, it is premature to talk about any kind of coalition grouping.

[Unidentified reporter] The Czechoslovak Press Agency has just issued a statement on a meeting between Vaclav Havel and Vaclav Klaus, who called for negotiations with you as quickly as possible. What do you think of this?

[Meciar] I appreciate the president's initiative, but the fate of the negotiations does not depend on him. Negotiations on forming federal organs will probably begin on 9 June; however, the place and time still have to be determined. We will respect the results of the elections in the Czech Republic. Vaclav Klaus and his party have created a good prerequisite for negotiations with us because they did not attack us before the elections. We will conduct ourselves just as appropriately in our negotiations with them. We see no reason why all the Federal Assembly offices should not be constituted on 25 June. The negotiations on the composition of the Federal Government will be more complicated because we will also propose structural changes to its organs.

[Unidentified reporter] How do you envisage the government's operation?

[Meciar] There are two alternatives. According to the first, a temporary government could be formed. It would fulfill its tasks until a referendum is held. The second alternative would proceed from the first, because new organs would be constituted on the basis of the referendum results. Whether two states evolve from Czechoslovakia depends on this. We insist on a treaty on cooperation that would recognize the existence of two international legal entities.

[Unidentified reporter] Could you assess the conduct of Czechoslovak Radio and Czechoslovak Television during the election campaign?

[Meciar] Our point of view is unequivocal. These institutions aided and abetted misinformation about relations between our nations. Therefore, we will propose that they be abolished and that they cease to be financed from the state budget. New institutions will be established in place of them. This will be one of our conditions in the negotiations on forming a Federal Government and for declaring confidence in it in the Federal Assembly.

[Unidentified reporter] When will the Slovak president be elected?

[Meciar] First of all, this post must be enshrined in the Slovak Republic Constitution, which should be adopted by the end of August 1992. Its adoption is not at variance with the currently valid federal constitution. Following the constitution's adoption by the Slovak National Council, the date it comes into force and the date of the Slovak presidential election will be determined.

[Unidentified reporter] Will deputies from your movement support Vaclav Havel's reelection as president of the Republic?

[Meciar] According to our information, his chances are minimal and I will ardently recommend our deputies to vote against his election. However, we are of the opinion that the president should be a Czech and the Federal Assembly chairman and the federal prime minister should be a Slovak.

[Unidentified reporter] Prior to the elections, you expressed doubts about the way they were being conducted. To what extent do you think they could have been manipulated?

[Meciar] As the election results roughly correspond to the opinion polls, we do not think they were manipulated.

[Text] [Unidentified reporter] How do you assess Slovakia's current economic situation and what will be your party's first steps in this sphere?

[Meciar] It is much worse than can be imagined. The crisis in all processes is so profound that there is a danger that the economy as a whole will collapse. Slovakia is on the verge of economic ruin. Our first step will be to inform the people of this truth. Other steps must be taken in legislation, in reorganizing state administration, and in international relations. It will be a series of very rapid steps. If a concept corresponding to Slovakia's needs is not found when a solution is sought for nationwide issues, then there will be two economic reform programs in operation as of 1 January 1993.

[Unidentified reporter] What do you expect from your negotiations with Vaclav Klaus?

[Meciar] Just agreements. Slovakia is in a situation where it must make decisions on the future orientation of its foreign policy and economy. Either it will become an appendage of the Czech economy and will be content with the fact that Slovakia will receive some resources following their redistribution or it will stand on its own two feet and—with some difficulty—will seek markets other than the market in the Czech Republic. We demand the involvement of our economic experts in preparing reform because they were not involved in the past. We also demand that the decisions made by the competent organs be made in accordance with the results of the negotiations on the constitutional and legal arrangement.

President Havel Calls Situation 'Very Serious'

LD0906144892 Prague CSTK in English 1356 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Text] Prague June 9 (CSTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel today said he thinks it is premature to view the present situation as the near end of the Czechoslovak Federation.

"It is true, however, that the situation is very serious at the moment", Havel told journalists after meeting Vaclav Klaus, chairman of the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) at Prague Castle. In Havel's view, there is a prospect for a new federal government to be formed relatively soon, which would be "very correct".

Klaus said he thinks "the current federal government does not feel sufficient legitimacy and voter support to dare taking the decisions that must be routinely taken".

He also informed journalists that during post-election coalition talks the possibility of the Democratic Left party's participation in the Federal Government was not mentioned.

Klaus voiced surprise at the meeting of Vladimir Meciar, chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), with Czech Republic Minister Jaroslav Sabata yesterday.

"If some political circles which failed in the election contest would like to employ the more general Czech-Slovak problem to their personal advantage, I would consider it very alarming", Klaus said.

Havel announced he intends to meet in Prague Thursday with Meciar and other HZDS representatives.

ODS Official Calls Filkus 'Accomodating'

LD0906152292 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1100 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Text] The demand by the Movement for Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] for merely a defense and currency union between Slovakia and Czechoslovakia is, according to Jiri Schneider, spokesman of the Civic Democratic Party [ODS], below the threshold of the attributes of the common state. Jiri Schneider said today that these two attributes alone are not enough.

He specified that other areas where there can be no discussion are, apart from currency, the preservation of the federal media and financial policy, where the problems, in his view, become particularly concentrated. He explained that he is talking about tax, budget, and customs tariffs.

In this connection he described as extraordinarily accommodating the views of Rudolf Filkus, chairman of the HZDS Council. Filkus, however, did not attend the Brno talks between the ODS and HZDS last night.

Jiri Schneider said that during last night's talks between the ODS and HZDS chairmen in Brno, the idea that Vladimir Meciar should enter the talks with an open mind on concessions was not borne out. The hope that Meciar would soften his position was not fulfilled, he said.

He went on to say that the ODS will negotiate on either a functional federation or a peaceful separation of the state. He said that he is not worried about a possible separation going the Yugoslav way. He explained that a possible disintegration of Czechoslovakia will have to take its course in a constitutional manner. He said that this would mean setting up a liquidation commission.

In connection with the formation of a federal government, Jiri Schneider rejected any idea of the temporary nature of this government's work. He said that the ODS can only accept solutions which would have nothing temporary about them from a long-term point of view.

On the issue of Vaclav Havel's candidacy for the office of president, Jiri Schneider stressed that the ODS was not a cheap- skate party which will go back on its word. He reiterated that the ODS backs Vaclav Havel as a personality integrating Czechoslovakia.

Distribution of Slovak National Council Seats

LD1006082992 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 0800 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Text] At its final session today, the Slovak Election Commission approved and announced the results of the parliamentary elections to the Slovak National Council. Seats in the 150-seat Slovak parliaments were won by:

Movement for Democratic Slovakia	74 seats
Party of Democratic Left	29 seats
Coalition of Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement-Egyuetteles	14 seats
Christian Democratic Movement	18 seats
Slovak National Party	15 seats

Distribution of Czech National Council Seats

LD0906210492 Prague CSTK in English 2032 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Text] Prague June 9 (CSTK)—The 24 seats in the Czech National Council (Parliament) which remained undecided after the first vote count from the June 5-6 elections were distributed today among the eight parties which won seats in the Czech Parliament, according to the elections law.

Three seats each went to the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA), the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party (CSSD), the Left Bloc (LB- coalition of the Communist

Party of Bohemia and Moravia, KSCM, and the Democratic Left, DL), the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CSL), the Assembly for the Republic-Czechoslovak Republican Party (SPR-RSC), and the Civic Democratic Party-Christian Democratic Party (ODS-KDS), four to the Liberal Socialist Union (LSU) and two to the Self-Governing Democracy Movement-Society for Moravia and Silesia (HSD-SMS).

The second count, whose results were approved by the Czech Election Commission today, has led to the definitive distribution of the 200 seats in the Czech parliament as follows: ODS-KDS...76 seats, LB...35 seats, CSSD...16 seats, LSU...16 seats, KDU-CSL...15 seats, HSD-SMS...14 seats, ODA...14 seats, and SPR-RSc...14 seats.

Slovak Dailies Comment on Election Results

AU0906120992 Prague CSTK in English 0800 GMT 8 Jun 92

[Text] Bratislava—The landslide victory of the Movement For a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) in the parliamentary elections in Slovakia is the focus of Slovak newspaper comments on Monday [8 June].

KORIDOR writes that Prague does not want to see what actually happened in Slovakia and keeps on using its hackneyed remarks about a unitary federation. The paper also says that HZDS Leader Vladimir Meciar's political and personal triumph is all the greater because he is returning to power in the most democratic way, after having been removed from the post of Slovak premier in an undemocratic way in March last year. KORIDOR says that the weak position of the Slovak National Party (SNS—8 percent) is a disappointment for the nationalist forces.

In another article the paper says that in spite of the impressing victory, HZDS leaders cannot yield to self-content and false euphoria because they face a tremendously complicated situation both in society and in the economy.

NARODNA OBRODA writes that "political forces which demand independence for Slovakia have not won a sufficient mandate in the parliamentary elections". With the exception of the SNS, they are political dwarfs without a sufficient following, which is a significant characterisation of the current state of opinion among Slovak citizens, who are not inclined towards radical solutions of problems in Czech-Slovak relations, it says.

In another commentary, the daily says that two different concepts will clash in the federal parliament and they will seek a common denominator with difficulty. Decisions made on federal level will have to be restricted to areas indispensable for the functioning of a common state, the paper says, adding that this is more in line with Meciar's rather than Klaus's ideas. The future political scene will be characterised by necessary Czech compromises, it says.

In an interview for NARODNA OBRODA, leader of the Social Democratic Party in Slovakia (SDSS) Alexander Dubcek does not rule out possible cooperation between the SDSS and the HZDS, though the former failed to get into parliament, as both have common positions on economic reforms and on what Czechoslovakia should look like in the future. "That is why I don't think that (the HZDS) would pose any danger to the existence of the common state", Dubcek says.

Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) chairman and current Slovak Premier Jan Carnogursky says in an interview for SLOVENSKY DENNIK that the KDH will undoubtedly know how to pursue a good opposition policy. He says the present economic situation in Slovakia, for which the KDH is co-responsible, evidently contributed to the election results, and he adds that "no better results in the economy could have been achieved".

PRACA [WORK] writes that "it cannot be expected...that given such a mass rejection of the current economic policy in Slovakia, the HZDS will abandon its election programme. Vaclav Klaus must realise that if the state-wide economic reform fails to respect Slovak realities and Slovakia's limits of tolerating the reform, there will be attempts at a different economic policy in Slovakia, and this will lead to the breakup of the state, faster than any emotional statements or acts".

NOVY SLOVAK [NEW SLOVAK] writes that the entry of Hungarian parties to the Slovak parliament (7.42 percent of votes) accentuates the failure of the Slovak National Party (SNS—7.93 percent). The daily believes the SNS leadership is facing an extremely difficult period in building the party's new programme as it let itself be robbed of its original one.

Czech Dailies Comment on Election Results

AU0906120692 Prague CSTK in English 0750 GMT 8 Jun 92

[Text] Prague June 8 (CSTK)—Initial evaluations of the June 5-6 elections in Czechoslovakia and assessments on further developments are the main topics in today's press. The dailies also deal with today's end of the first round of coupon privatisation and discuss the change of government in Poland.

The daily TELEGRAF writes of the unenviable position of Vladimir Meciar, chairman of the Movement For a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), in talks with Vaclav Klaus, chairman of the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) on forming a Federal Government. Meciar will try "to invent" a model of economic reform for the country which will not upset his potential Slovak coalition partners and which will not lead to the collapse of his own party. Such a political solution should also be acceptable to the Czech side. It is possible, the paper continues, Meciar will suggest to Klaus a model similar to that which existed between Austria and Hungary after the compromise of 1867, which divided the empire into two linked, though virtually sovereign, states.

The drama is just beginning, writes MLADA FRONTA DNES. Meciar can, when raising demands for corrections in economic reforms, possibly count on support from the Czech and Slovak left in the Federal Assembly (parliament). But it will be difficult for him to count on support in the parliament for his programme of dissolving the Czechoslovak Federation.

The paper writes that Klaus will have a well-cemented ODS behind him and a mandate from every third voter in the Czech Republic. Klaus, who has been endlessly condemned by the left, can paradoxically count on a certain amount of support from Czech communists, social democrats and members of the Liberal Social Union (LSU) in his efforts to form a functioning Federal Government. The paper writes that the sober balance of chances for success will just barely be in favour of Klaus.

RUDE PRAVO writes that Czechoslovakia's revolutionary elite, represented by former dissidents for the most part currently in the Civic Movement (OH), was not elected to parliament primarily due to their politeness, bordering on timidity, and their unclearly formulated election programme. The era of intellectual politics is ending, passing its scepter to pragmatism, business-like behavior, and possibly, to political jostling and deal making. If Klaus and Meciar do not agree on sensible coexistence and the common state of Czechs and Slovaks becomes a thing of the past, then residents of the Czech Republic can expect a conspicuously right-wing government and residents of Slovakia an experiment in searching for a "third path" between socialism and capitalism.

RUDE PRAVO also publishes an interview with Klaus, who expresses concern that things "do not look good" in the Federal Assembly.

CESKY DENIK writes that Klaus has extended his hand to Meciar and that "now it is fully up to the responsibility of Vladimir Meciar whether he will accept (Klaus') hand". The ODS will definitely not give up either its concept of "a sensible federation", or changes in the country's course of economic reform. CESKY DENIK calls "a lead chain" Miroslav Sladek's Assembly for the Republic-Czechoslovak Republican Party (SPR-RSC), which won seats to both houses of the federal parliament as well as to the Czech parliament. The past two years of assiduous work by the often underestimated politician has paid off in parliament seats, the paper writes.

PROSTOR [SCOPE] comments that Slovakia has set out on the path of revitalising socialism. Violations of civic rights and freedoms will not be long in coming, the paper predicts.

LIDOVE NOVINY comments on Sunday's [7 June] statement by Meciar that Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel's chances of being reelected are minimal. Havel is not some form of ransom who can be used to ensure the unstable continuation of the common state, the paper comments. Referring to what it calls well-informed sources, the paper writes that former Czechoslovak Interior Minister Richard Sacher will be Meciar's candidate for Czechoslovak president.

MLADA FRONTA DNES writes that Meciar could have two reasons for making his statement on Havel—either Meciar is raising the price for which he will support Havel's candidacy, or he has his own candidate. Only Alexander Dubcek, chairman of the previous federal parliament, could be this candidate, the paper writes.

Strasky Denies Being Asked To Form Government

LD0906212792 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 2000 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Text] Czech Deputy Premier Jan Strasky has declared that he has not been tasked with forming a new government of the Czech Republic. He was reacting to [Czech] Premier Petr Pithart's interview broadcast this evening on Czech radio from which it emerged that the present deputy premier, Jan Strasky, has been tasked with forming a new government. Jan Strasky said that all he knows is that an envelope containing the instructions of the Czech National Council Presidium is with [Federal Premier Designate] Vaclav Klaus.

National Assembly Annuls Treaty on Dam Project

LD0906204192 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1900 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Excerpt] The Hungarian National Assembly has annulled the interstate treaty concluded with Czechoslovakia on the realizatio. and operation of the Bos [Gabcikovo]-Nagymaros dam. A large majority of the deputies adopted the law on the Post Office and the legal regulation on the employees' stock ownership program. [passage omitted]

Further on Assembly Actions

LD0906224392 Budapest MTI in English 1938 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Text] Budapest, June 9 (MTI)—The Hungarian parliament passed laws on the Employees Stock Ownership Programme (ESOP), the postal service, and invalidated a Czechoslovak-Hungarian agreement on the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydropower dam construction today.

The ESOP law, enabling employees to buy shares in their company, was passed with an overwhelming majority. For ESOP to start within a company, at least 25 per cent of employees have to support it.

The postal law was also passed by parliament with a large majority.

Further, parliament invalidated a 1977 Czechoslovak-Hungarian inter-state agreement on the construction and operation of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydropower dam, and an amendment protocol to it, signed in Prague in 1983.

Parliament is to continue work with a plenary session on Wednesday.

Jeszenszky, German FDP Leader Discuss Serbia

LD0906213892 Budapest MTI in English 1555 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Text] Budapest, June 9 (MTI)—A Hungarian proposal for European countries to send peacekeeping forces to Serbia's Kosovo and Vojvodina provinces was outlined by Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky at talks with German Free Democratic Party [FDP] Parliamentary Group Leader Hermann-Otto Solms today.

Analysing aspects of the south Slav crisis, Jeszenszky spoke about the flow of refugees, which affects Germany as well.

Also, Jeszenszky said the UN Security Council sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro have caused economic damage to Hungary.

Hungary, therefore, would like to share the burden with other countries, Jeszenszky said.

U.S. Aid Consignment Arrives for Charity

LD0906225392 Budapest MTI in English 1954 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Text] Budapest, June 9 (MTI)—The U.S. aid organisation Americares has donated medicines, food-preparations for babies and children and first-aid kits to the Hungarian Maltese Charitable Service.

The aid consignment, worth 1.5 million dollars, arrived at the airport here today, along with Americares leaders and several U.S. journalists.

The Connecticut-based charitable organisation has contributed to supporting the poor and refugees in Hungary before, Hungarian Maltese Charitable Service official Judit Vasarhelyi told MTI.

During their stay here, until Thursday, the guests will familiarise themselves with social and refugee affairs in Hungary.

FSH, Local Administration Sign Agreement

LD0906225492 Budapest MTI in English 1928 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Text] Budapest, June 9 (MTI)—A cooperation agreement between the Federation of Slovenes in Hungary (FSH) and the local administration of Slovenia's Murska Sobota District was signed in Szentgotthard (W. Hungary) today.

The five-year agreement, on expanding economic, cultural and sports cooperation, was signed by Murska Sobota Mayor Andrei Gerencer and FSH President Jozsef Hirnok.

The document is the first to regulate the ties of a district and a minority organisation under Slovenia's new constitution.

According to the agreement, the Slovene side wants to make the borders more open, pressing for the opening of a new border crossing between Ketvolgy and Csepinci.

Also, to develop the economy in the regions of the River Raba and Mura, they will encourage entrepreneurs, cooperation and press for the construction of a railway line between Murska Sobota and Szentgotthard.

Training courses for teachers will be organised to help with the teaching of Hungarians and Slovenes in the two countries. Also, schoolchildren will make excursions to each other's regions.

Press Release on Bonn Envoy's Resignation

LD0906175992 Budapest MTI in English 1250 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Text] Budapest, June 9 (MTI)—The Hungarian Foreign Ministry has requested MTI to issue the following press release:

"The Hungarian ambassador to Bonn, Attila Csenger-Zalan, has resigned his post due to personal reasons. Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky has accepted his resignation, and the Foreign Ministry officially notified the German side on the matter. According to international practice, the embassy will be temporarily headed by a charge d'affaires ad interim.

National Bank Shows Favorable Report on Economy

LD1006104492 Budapest MTI in English 0923 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Text] Budapest, June 10 (MTI)—The Hungarian economy registered good results in 1991 with respect to the monetary processes and particularly regarding the international financial balance. The monetary policy for 1991 set the tasks of upholding the country's solvency and to curb inflation as priorities, notes a report compiled by the National Bank of Hungary for parliament on the monetary processes of 1991.

The convertible balance of payments closed with a surplus of USD 267 million, instead of the planned USD 1.2 billion deficit. Last year, the value of working capital invested in Hungary was USD 1.5 billion, hard currency reserves rose to USD 4 billion, the net debt stock declined by USD 1.4 billion, and was valued at USD 14.5 billion at the end of the year. On December 31, 1991, the value of the gross debt was USD 22.7 billion, which was USD 1.4 billion higher than the value of the previous year.

The debt maturity structure showed a considerable improvement, the proportion of short-term debts was 9.6 per cent at the end of 1991. The debt service ratio, which indicates the proportion of the debt service and export, declined from 43.2 per cent to 32 per cent.

In 1991, the consumer price level was 35 per cent higher than a year earlier, though inflation reached its peak and subsequently began to decline. The favourable results were enforced amidst extremely strict external and internal conditions. The East European market collapsed, the switch to convertible accounting was accompanied by a major deterioration in terms of trade. The loss of markets and worsening terms of trade together caused losses of some USD 2 billion for the Hungarian economy.

Industrial production declined by 20 per cent, agricultural by 4 per cent, the total value of convertible and non-convertible accounting exports by 9 per cent, imports calculated in a similar manner from 5 to 7 per cent, and GDP from 9 to 11 per cent as compared to the previous year.

The unemployment rate was 8.5 per cent at the end of 1991. All the same, the Hungarian economy adapted far better than expected to the external shock effects, thus the balance of the economy was upheld. Alongside declining exports, the trade balance deteriorated only slightly, but this was balanced by a growth in the stock of hard currency accounts held by private individuals.

Prime Minister Pawlak Holds News Conference

LD0906154892 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1020 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Report by correspondent Marian Wachniewski on news conference held by Polish Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak on 9 June; place not given—passages in quotation marks recorded]

[Text] [Wachniewski] Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen. The questions touched on various aspects of political life and the state of the coalition talks while Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak's cabinet is being formed. The first question was whether it was a military coup d'etat.

[Unidentified journalist] "[Words indistinct] and your appointment as prime minister is the result of the military coup d'etat. Could you comment on that?"

[Pawlak] "I think that if there are no other arguments, then symbols and demons are brought to light. Let us look at it in a cooler way and let us look at concrete actions, and then I think we will be able to assess."

[Wachniewski] Talking about public services and whether the professionals should be employed there, Prime Minister Pawlak said:

[Pawlak] "I think that when speaking about public services in general, meaning the police and the military, the ruling principle should be that professionalism and loyalty to the state should count. This is a basic criterion. Of course, I would avoid the attitude that if someone openly admits having some political preferences—and is not in the first line among involved activists—then he should be excluded from making personnel decisions in these ministries simply because he honestly admits certain political views. In any case, it should be in accordance with law and there are certain limits within these services as to the party membership."

[Wachniewski] The journalists were interested in the general concept of Prime Minister Pawlak's government and what general principles were accepted during yesterday's talks.

[Pawlak] "Generally speaking, when I was considering the idea with President Lech Walesa, it was different and different parties were taken into account as the core of this coalition, but in practice it worked out differently. In my opinion, emotions took over from common sense, and now we have to approach it in a practical manner. That is, we have a certain picture of the parliament, a certain picture of society's preferences, and the solution must be sought on the basis of this real principle. There is a suggestion to approach the construction of the government so that the president and the prime minister are responsible for overall state affairs, which are: Analysis of the situation, the reconciliation of the coalition members' diverse interests, and the formulation of joint positions. Other fields of state life are attributed to a few parties that have the best background or preferences toward certain matters so that there is a balance of interests in these fields and compromises are made. The parties that have knowledge are working in those fields in which their programs are elaborated so there is no need to look for and work out programs because they already exist.

"I probably have treated this matter generally, but I think I have explained the construction's idea. However, if this is the principle—and I have the impression that it was generally accepted during yesterday's talks—then a particular solution is easier to find because it is a matter of looking for solutions where mutual interests are balanced in such a way that everyone is more pleased with the solution than if there were none."

[Wachniewski] There also was a question of how much the prime minister depends on President Lech Walesa.

[Pawlak] "I would say, as I did in Tarnow, that we have an amazing situation today in which the state is lead by the worker and the farmer, and it is not only symbolic but also very practical and shows that we need ordinary, simple work that is well organized and without emotion which solves concrete matters and problems. I think that making comments here or placing blame is allowed, naturally. This is the sort of work in which one must cope with all kinds of situations, but I think that you ladies and gentlemen, representatives of the mass media and society, will judge the work by its results, not according to simplified, symbolic patterns. In my opinion we are much better off cooperating, looking for solutions that are satisfactory for the state institutions, rather than competing ruthlessly. This competition has led both sides to a difficult situation, to put it kindly."

[Wachniewski] The journalists also asked what obstacles there are in Prime Minister's Pawlak coalition talks, and first of all, concerning which matters:

[Pawlak] "Regarding foreign affairs, as I mentioned before, the proposal is to seek the cooperation of parties that sometimes have diverse opinions. That is why, it may not have been expressed precisely, we have two parties—the Democratic Union and the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN]—but it does not determine that the sequence of which party is the leading one is not important. And [words indistinct] foreign affairs so we do not determine. We really did not talk about it, to divide those areas clearly. It is a proposal on our part to look for a solution, and I think it was well received. We decided after yesterday's talks that we will specify it officially after looking through documents so that we will not get involved in long, absorbing discussions, but we will point out clearly the problems that differentiate us. Today we try to talk about smoothing these edges and we will see if something will not be smoothed, then you will be informed about it.

"As for the economy, the initial proposal is that the Polish Peasant Alliance and the Liberal-Democratic Congress will be active here, and we will be looking for

balance. Of course, these are general solutions and proposals, and we really do not treat them as something definite and closed as if no one is allowed. This is the initial proposal and particular solutions are somehow different from general solutions. It is about the kind of people, their professional background. As to the second part, I will try to do it as soon as possible. I think that the state and society need to end this period of instability. And we need to start to solve problems in this area.

"Ladies and gentlemen, if only I knew everything then we certainly would be further along."

[Wachniewski] Many questions during today's news conference dealt with the compromise in coalition talks. When asked whether compromise between the KPN and the liberals is possible, Prime Minister Pawlak answered:

[Pawlak] "As with everything in this world, there are matters that cannot be determined, but in general it depends if we want to agree or if we are for other solutions. If we are for other solutions then an argument can always be found. If we go for agreement, then we will find a way that will satisfy everyone. I think that there is this year's budget, which is tight, because the time is limited, but really it is worth thinking about the future and quickly preparing the budget for the next year so that we will start the budgetary year in a decent manner, with the budget, tax laws, and financial laws so that businessman will not be informed in April that some taxes have been valid since January."

[Wachniewski] One of the journalists asked Prime Minister Pawlak to comment on the fact that the mission of the farmers' prime minister is warmly opposed by peasant parties. The prime minister was asked when the concrete talks will take place.

[Pawlak] "If we look at officially announced reasons, then it looks strange because one can have arguments for various reasons, but if there are no rational reasons one can only suspect that ambitions are involved, and there is no remedy for that. Either time or personal feelings may change something here. I hope that when we talk about concrete matters there will be no resistance. If we can find solutions in agriculture, then I do not think there will be resistance. I cannot influence the will expressed by politicians. We live in a free country and everyone has the right to express opinions that according to him best serve the case."

[Wachniewski] Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak also was asked about his attitude toward the left and what he expects from this party.

[Pawlak] "Experience in parliament so far has taught me one thing, that in seeking solutions in certain matters it is worth talking to every party. Sometimes interesting conclusions and suggestions can be obtained that help find better solutions. So I am open here to everyone. I would like to ask you not to force me in one direction because it is my impression after my first day in office that I suddenly have interests on one side. [sentence as heard] Let us not exaggerate; let us establish that the opening is in every direction and that parliamentary relations show that we cannot go too much to the left."

[Wachniewski] One of the journalists also asked why more and more political parties are for dissolving the parliament. Prime Minister Pawlak answered:

[Pawlak] "Some people and parties dream of this solution, but I think we have been politicizing too much recently and there have not been enough opportunities properly to plan work in public administration and in the economy in general. In my opinion, we should look for stable solutions. The Sejm term is described in the legislation and in my opinion if we could find compromise and agreement today, if we could agree, then it is worth it to work and stop dreaming about who will win or lose."

Sejm To Examine Disclosure of Former Agents

LD0906123692 Warsaw PAP in English 0955 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Text] Warsaw, June 9—The extraordinary Sejm commission to examine the way of implementing the May 28 Sejm resolution on disclosing former Communist secret agents by the interior minister gathered at its first closed door meeting Tuesday, with Acting Interior Minister Andrzej Milczanowski taking part.

Members of the commission did not want to disclose the topic of Tuesday debates.

A reliable source told PAP that Interior Minister Antoni Macierewicz, now on leave, and former head of the state protection office Piotr Naimski would be interrogated during the meeting.

Before the meeting of the Sejm Commission Milczanowski said that posts in the Interior Ministry were taken over in tune with law.

Milczanowski Denies Removal of Files on Agents

LD0906132592 Warsaw PAP in English 1307 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Text] Warsaw, June 9—Acting Interior Minister Andrzej Milczanowski said Tuesday that there was no evidence that would show the destruction of documents by former authorities of the Interior Ministry, adding that the process of taking over files is still under way.

He made the statement following the meeting of the extraordinary Sejm commission for examining the implementation of the May 28 Sejm resolution to reveal the names of former Secret Service agents.

"I am responsible for the safety and completeness of the documents conveyed to me by Minister Piotr Naimski and I assure you that nobody should be afraid of the fate of these materials. I cannot make any aggravating suggestions," Milczanowski told journalists.

He categorically denied that any files had allegedly been taken away outside the premises of the State Protection Office last Monday.

Macierewicz Claims He Is Being Blackmailed

LD0906223492 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 1900 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Text] Minister of Internal Affairs Antoni Macierewicz, who is on leave, has declared that he is being blackmailed, Deputy Lech Prochno-Wroblewski has told journalists. The head of the Ministry made the declaration during the first meeting—closed to the press - of the Sejm Extraordinary Commission to examine the Ministry's file distribution activity. Antoni Macierewicz was questioned by the Commission today.

As our reporter Monika Olejnik found out, Antoni Macierewicz said during questioning that he was being blackmailed in connection with the documents he had revealed. Asked by a Commission member who was doing this blackmailing, Minister Macierewicz asked for a half-hour break, in order to meet Premier Pawlak.

After a few score minutes, the answer came back from the premier that he would meet Antoni Macierewicz tomorrow.

Tyminski Threatens Walesa, Demands Resignation

LD0906180592 Warsaw PAP in English 1305 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Text] Warsaw, June 9—Leader of the Party X Stanislaw Tyminski has threatened President Lech Walesa with disclosing the contents of his black briefcase, accusing him of degrading the office of the Polish president. Tyminski is ready to withdraw his public accusations against Walesa provided the president immediately resigns.

Tyminski made his threats in a letter he sent to the president and whose contents was revealed by his Deputy Jozef Kossecki at a press conference Tuesday.

Kossecki said Tyminski had left Poland on June 7 for fear of attempts on his life.

In the letter to Walesa Tyminski said:

"Reports and proofs of your mean behaviour in the past were inside my black briefcase already during the presidential electoral campaign. I had not decided to open it at the time for not wanting to damage the prestige of our state.

"Today, however, when your initiative to change the government that tried to implement the Sejm resolution on revealing former Secret Services agents, now holding key state posts, discredited the president's office, the Sejm and the Polish Government in the eyes of world public opinion, the moment came when I am forced to publicly present the contents of my black briefcase," the letter reads.

Christian Democrat Faction Leaves Center Accord

AU0906125692 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 2 Jun 92 p 2

[Pawel Reszka report: "No Wider Consequences"]

[Excerpts] At a Forum for Christian-Democrat Thought in the Center Accord meeting held on Sunday [31 May], a group of Center Accord members passed a vote of no-confidence in Chairman Jaroslaw Kaczynski and called an alternative congress for 13 June. The Second Center Accord Congress is to take place 12-14 June. The forum has decided not to participate in it.

What consequences might the split in the Center Accord have?

According to Andrzej Anusz of the Forum for Christian-Democrat Thought, the most significant consequence would be a split in the Center Accord Parliamentary Club, which is something that is yet to occur. [passage omitted]

"It is not a split," said Jacek Maziarski, chairman of the Center Accord Main Board," it is a small group. I imagine that about 10 or 12 members of parliament will leave. The Center Accord Club has 49 members."

Jacek Maziarski said that it was good thing that the Forum for Christian-Democrat Thought had left but "it is just a pity that it took such a long time. The talks about a split will cease, and it is a fact that will not have any political consequences." [passage omitted]

Onyszkiewicz Seeking To Calm Atmosphere in Army

LD0806174592 Warsaw PAP in English 1641 GMT 8 Jun 92

[Text] Warsaw, June 8—Janusz Onyszkiewicz, acting defence minister, wants to calm down the atmosphere of uncertainty in the Army, disperse fears of public opinion that the Army might be used for political games and to "restore good cooperation with the presidential office and the Foreign Ministry."

Onyszkiewicz told a press conference on Monday that there were no movements of the Army which could testify to the implementation of a "scenario involving the Army into political decisions." He said, however, he must make sure about this.

The acting defence minister declared he primarily wants to restore cooperation with the presidential office and the Foreign Ministry as it left "much to be wished for" recently. He is also confident his cooperation with the National Security Office (BBN) can be very good, even

though there is no clear division of powers between the Defence Ministry and the National Defence Committee (KOK).

Onyszkiewicz came out in favour of tightening cooperation with NATO and close cooperation with Polands neighbours.

He also announced he will review recent appointments in the Army and made the appointment of new deputy defence ministers dependent on the shape of the Government coalition.

Sejm Approves Direction of Privatization Program

LD0606181892 Warsaw PAP in English 2124 GMT 5 Jun 92

[Text] Warsaw, June 5—The Sejm approved of the main directions of privatization in 1992 at its plenary meeting held here Friday.

The program of privatization submitted by the government envisages that by the end of this year some 250 state-owned enterprises will be commercialized (that is, transformed into treasury-owned companies). Fifty to sixty other state firms will be sold to Polish and foreign investors, and 8 to 10 more will be privatized by a public subscription of shares.

The program also provides for some 400 to 600 state firms to be privatized by means of liquidation.

The government has been obligated to submit a report on the course of privatization by the end of July. In a resolution, the Sejm obligated the government to secure a bigger role for employees in the privatization process, chiefly through E.S.O.P. [employee stock ownership plans]-style projects.

Sejm Prohibits Deputies' Business Activities

LD0606180892 Warsaw PAP in English 2114 GMT 5 Jun 92

[Text] Warsaw, June 5—The so-called anti-corruption law which bars m.p.s [members of parliament], senators, high-ranking government officials and civil servants from sitting on company boards was adopted Friday by the Lower House of Parliament.

The law obligates the persons concerned to either give up their seats on the boards of companies within 30 days of the law coming into force, or to resign from public posts.

The law also provides for obligatory statements of personal wealth to be submitted by the persons concerned. The property of their spouses, however, is not to be included in the statement.

Until today, the issue was not regulated by law. The first non-communist prime minister of Poland, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, instructed his cabinet members not to take up posts in companies. However, that order was repelled by his successor, Jan Krzysztof Bielecki. No rules existed concerning Sejm and Senate members. This gave rise to widespread popular belief that people in high government posts and parliamentarians took advantage of their official position to accumulate personal wealth by engaging in economic activity.

Chebeleu Assesses Russian Minister's Statements

AU1006093092 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0723 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Text] Bucharest Rompres 10/6/1992—In an interview granted on June 9, 1992 to the national news agency ROMPRES, the spokesman of the Romanian Foreign Affairs Ministry, Ambassador Traian Chebeleu, assesses the recent statements made by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev to "LE MONDE" as particularly serious since they question one of the fundamental principles of the peaceful settlement of the situation created in the districts on the left bank of the Dniester in the Republic of Moldova, and the territorial integrity of that independent and sovereign state respectively. "These statements are all the more astonishing as they are made by one of the co-authors of the declarations of Helsinki and Chisinau of the foreign ministers of the four states—the Republic of Moldova, Romania, Russia and Ukraine—which set forth the principles of the peaceful settlement of the conflict in that part of the Republic of Moldova, that of the territorial integrity of the Republic of Moldova in the first place," Traian Chebeleu said.

Likewise, the Romanian ambassador expressed "bewilderment" at the potential inclusion of Transdniestria in Russia. As the former is not contiguous with the latter a possible inclusion of this territory in Russia could be done only at the expense of other considerable territorial changes.

Recalling that the CIS member states solemnly declared in Alma Ata in December 1991 and in Minsk in February 1992 that they recognized and mutually observed territorial integrity and the inviolability of the existing frontiers, Ambassador Traian Chebeleu said that "an equivocal stand that might even leave the impression of territorial claims is extremely worrying especially when it is taken by a country of such a great influence and weight in European and world affairs as that of Russia. Such a stand is not of a nature to consolidate security and cooperation in Europe," Traian Chebeleu stressed.

Referring to Minister Kozyrev's opinions about the unitary state Moldova which must not be a unitary state "at any costs" as "it includes regions like Transdniestria and Gagauzia which have a completely different history and demographic composition," Ambassador Traian Chebeleu made the following points: "As far as I know, the region the Gagauz are living in has no other history than that of Moldova. Why should this region have a distinct statute starting today? This is an unjustified claim."

Stressing that one cannot resort to history in a given situation in a selective manner" and recalling that "the territory of the Republic of Moldova of today was shaped by the Soviet totalitarian regime not only by attaching Transdniestria to it but also by taking away from it the territory torn from Romania in the wake of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, namely Northern Bukovina and the counties of Southern Bessarabia," Ambassador Traian Chebeleu said.

"If a separate status of Transdniestria in the Republic of Moldova is to be discussed 'for the moment'—according to the historical criterion, then the same should be discussed also for the other territories that were detached from today's territory of the Republic of Moldova on the same occasion and that had a history distinct from that of the territories of the republics that are independent now. Are we ready to do it? As far as we are concerned, our government has long expressed its stand in favour of a peaceful mending of all consequences of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact," Traian Chebeleu said.

The spokesman of the Romanian Foreign Ministry assessed that "what is being attempted now, meaning a separate status for Transdniestria achieved by force and even the proclamation of an independent state, is an act that could by no means be acknowledged as legitimate by the international community, as it is about a frontier change to be made in a different way than that of negotiations, of agreement permitted by the principles recorded in the CSCE Final Act."

He expressed "worry" about the departure from international legality entailed by Minister Kozyrev's statement in "LE MONDE."

Ambassador Traian Chebeleu also assessed that "the federalization" of the Republic of Moldova, proposed by A. Kozyrev "is the safe recipe for the perpetuation if not even aggravation of the conflict," recalling the experience of the Soviet and Yugoslav federations. "Nothing will prevent the same ending in the case of a possible 'Moldovan federation'," the ambassador said.

Traian Chebeleu considers that "a status of political and legal equality—entailed by federalization—between the zone left of the Dniester and the other territory of the Republic of Moldova could not be justified." "Let us not forget," he says, "that the Russian ethnics do not top 25 percent in Transdniestria. The Romanian ethnics, or Moldovans, are 40 percent there. And there is no Transdniestrian people as such. So, apart from the historical criterion, there is neither political, nor moral or legal justification for a separate status of that territory".

In the end, Romanian Foreign Ministry Spokesman Traian Chebeleu assessed that "the attempts of forced split from the Republic of Moldova of a part of its territory, or of formation of a federal structure on a territory so small in size as the Republic of Moldova's, can lead only to the creation in this part of Europe of a hotbed of conflict with unforeseeable consequences for the peace and security of the states in the whole area. Such a prospect is not and cannot be in the interests of the population in any of the districts of the Republic of Moldova, irrespective of ethnic belonging," he mentioned.

Remarks on Military Regime Called 'Disinformation'

AU0906151592 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1300 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Text] From the press bureau of the Ministry of National Defense we received the following communique by fax:

The news item distributed by A.M. PRESS and published by several newspapers, according to which high-ranking individuals in the Army have recently said that the chaos produced by postponing elections until the last months of the year could only be halted by a military dictatorship and that the solution of a military regime in Romania would be an extreme but not impossible measure considering the situation in the neighboring countries and the aggravation of the internal social, political, and economic situation, which would require a military-type administration, is a deliberate act of disinformation conducive to tendentious and unfounded speculations generated by the search for sensationalism.

The Romanian Army's mission, as stipulated by the Constitution—says the communique—is to defend Romania's unity, independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and constitutional democracy. Therefore, to circulate such an idea on the basis of false information allegedly received from high-ranking sources claiming that they wanted to establish a military dictatorship is an aberrant act designed to increase internal tension and to generate a state of uncertainty and insecurity among the people.

We note with regret, says the communique, that this is not the first violation of the moral code by A.M. PRESS regarding the circulation of inaccurate or malicious items about the Army. Beyond the damage caused to the Army, such an approach to problems makes the professionalism and correctness of this agency questionable and creates serious confusion in the minds of the readers. In the interest of openness, we ask A.M. PRESS to disclose the source that allegedly supplied that piece of information. In conclusion, the communique reads: We ask the editorial boards of all publications that, whenever they receive news items on military topics from sources other than the Ministry of the National Defense, they should turn to the Army's press bureau for the necessary clarifications in order to ensure correct information for their readers.

FSN's Roman Protests Postponement of Elections

AU0906204392 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1900 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Text] The parliamentary groups of the National Salvation Front [FSN] met tonight at Bucharest's Dacia Club with the leadership of that party. FSN President Petre Roman was also present. At the end of the meeting, Mr. Petre Roman made the following statement to our reporter Elena Perdichi:

[Begin recording] [Roman] Last night at the joint session of the two chambers of Parliament, an impasse was reached on the question of adopting the laws that might have led to holding general elections on 26 July this year. This situation is due to the fact that a number of parties voted against this date—that is against elections on 26 July—in spite of the fact that the people's general sentiment is in favor of holding elections as soon as possible and the government has explicitly asked for that date.

The refusal to grant the country this democratic and constitutional right, namely to vote at a time when such a vote has become most necessary, brought about the protest by the FSN parliamentarians, who left the joint Parliament session. Thus, they indicated their refusal to further talk in vain, postpone events, drag their feet, and ignore the basic right of holding elections at a time when they are more necessary than ever before. If on 22 December 1989, we were able to ask for speedy elections—in keeping with the people's wishes—well, the same sentiment prevails today, too, namely that we must have elections to clarify the situation in our country, to break through this state of deadlock, and to take the necessary steps so as to suffer less and begin to live slightly better. This can only be accomplished through a new government and a new economic and social policy. This is the explanation for the exit of the FSN parliamentarians from the session of the two chambers on the electoral laws. It is a protest gesture designed to show that we are siding with the country, when the country requires it. It is our consistent gesture, in favor of early elections.

[Patrichi] Did you consider the consequences of your gesture?

[Roman] Of course. It is a constructive gesture that emphasizes that these elections can and should be held as soon as possible. Whenever the subject of organizing elections as soon as possible comes up again, we will be there to address it.

[Patrichi] Still, 26 July is passe. What would be the next closest date, in your opinion?

[Roman] I would say that when the country's interests demand it—and the people themselves ask for it—nothing is passe. Let us not forget that the electoral campaign lasted only 23 days in Czechoslovakia and 21 days in Great Britain. In some other countries, it lasts for 40 days. Do we really need a long electoral campaign? We need elections. Any attempt to tell the electorate that this is not possible because the people are busy tilling the land or doing something else, well, all this is no good. However, the true feeling of the people is that elections are needed to break the deadlock. Can one ignore this feeling? Is it really too late to accede to the people's sentiments? I believe it is never too late. [end recording]

PNL Says Postponement of Elections 'Realistic'

AU0906194692 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1823 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 9/6/1992—The holding of general elections in September or October is the most realistic option, stated Deputy Sorin Botnaru at a weekly meeting with the press at the headquarters of the National Liberal Party [PNL] on Tuesday, 9 June. Participating were Deputies Iulia Leomiza and Ioan George Bese who maintained the idea that the holding of elections on July 26 would have hindered a fair election campaign and the risk for absenteeism would have been too high.

Answering the journalists' questions Deputy Botnaru pointed out that the secret ballot result in the Chamber of Deputies was "a victory of reason, of a way to independently make decisions without any pressure and manipulation". In his opinion the holding of elections next month would have led to an imbalance in the parliament with "great chances for the left-wing forces and an over-representation of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania."

The fact was brought out in bold relief that the National Liberal Party received several proposals from various political parties to join in alliances, and it was going to analyze them.

The idea was reiterated that the PNL would not enter into alliance with any "nostalgic or disguised party of communism", referring to the two FSN wings, the Socialist Party of Labor and "Romania Mare" party.

Press Comments on Postponement of Elections

AU0906132492 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1143 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 9/6/1992—The parliamentary and presidential elections are the favorite theme of the Romanian dailies of June 9.

Under the heading "The Method of Procrastination" daily AZI notes with reference to the postponement of these elections: "the conservatives (meaning by this all those who oppose in fact democracy, the market economy, and the fast and complete European integration of Romania) tried to mark time in order to be able to rely in the postponed elections upon a mounting worry. What the conservatives wait for and prepare is the continuation of the negative economic growth, the growth of the number of jobless, mounting inflation, and so on."

Daily ADEVARUL, that prints excerpts from the address made by Premier Theodor Stolojan on June 8 to the Parliament, stresses that "after trading insinuations and threats, the parliament and the government seem to come to a consensus: Elections next autumn." As a matter of fact, Premier Theodor Stolojan's statement is integrally published by CURIERUL NATIONAL, COTIDIANUL, and TINERETUL LIBER. The editorial in TINERETUL LIBER, entitled "Long Ailing Is Sure To End up in Death," referring to the setting of the election day concludes that "the two chambers confirmed yesterday to the full the title of our article."

"The elections are likely to be held in autumn" writes DIMINEATA that deals at length with the presidential elections, concluding: "whatever the specific interests of some party or another, of some group or another, we believe that, beyond all this, there are general imperatives of really national importance that ought to have been long given the due priority, and the people—the possibility to pronounce by the democratic way of elections." "The delay is hard to explain," COTIDIANUL writes. In turn, DREPTATEA notes: "The indefinite postponement of the elections through all possible procedures, does not meet a momentary opportuneness, although it too, press hard on the power. It runs ahead a dictate the pretext of which will be produced precisely by the state's economic collapse, which will be to a great extent an intentional one."

"Embargo and Morals" is the headline of the editorial in today's issue of ADEVARUL, which, referring to Romania's official stand on a most thorny international issue—the war in the area called until not long ago Yugoslavia, notes: "While all the other European states welcome the U.N. Security Council resolution that institutes severe economic sanction against Serbia and Montenegro, our country takes a singular stand, taking the liberty to emphasize the not at all unimportant consequences the enforcing of the sanctions entails for the Romanian economy, demanding adequate compensations. The disappointment of western diplomatic chancelleries that will probably find in these 'claims' a new pretext to demand a delay in Romania's integration in the European political-economic structures is as insincere as it is worrying."

Daily ADEVARUL also publishes a coverage in which, with reference to the recent all-country conference of the Armenian community in Romania, it notes: "The friendliness and consideration shown to the Armenian community in Romania does not come directly from its quantitative proportions, but especially from the way in which it understands its status as minority and its rights, from the responsibility with which it assumes its duties to itself and to the common homeland."

All newspapers extensively comment the events in the Dniester region, condemning the actions of the separatists and declaring for the preservation of the integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Moldova. Telling in this respect is also the set of news items in ROMANIA LIBERA, published under the generic "How Long Can Moldova's Pain Be Deplored?"

Counselor Says Iliescu Needed as President

AU0906080892 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 27 May 92 pp 1, 2

[Part two of interview with Presidential Counselor Iosif Boda, by L. Avramescu; place and date not given: "We Have Not Gotten Rid of All Possible Dictatorships"]

[Excerpt] [Avramescu] Mr. Bota, do you believe that we have gotten rid of political dictatorships?

[Bota] It depends on how we look at it. Maybe we have gotten rid of political dictatorship. But I do not believe that we have gotten rid of all possible dictatorships. In a way, we should have the dictatorship of our own conscience, of our righteousness. Individually, each of us has something that we can reproach ourselves with in connection with our past. But at the same time, there is a given circumstance or maybe several given circumstances. We were born in these years. We did not have a choice. I chose the department of Philosophy at the University, but I could not choose the program of lectures there. That was imposed on us.

[Avramescu] Do you not believe that the time has come to cut ourselves from that past and eliminate what is wrong and evil within us, and then the evil outside us. Do you not believe that the avalanche of evil that comes from the past and the hardships that we faced in the past, is still renewed through Mr. Iliescu's presence, even if it is only symbolical? You have to admit that Mr. Iliescu belongs more to the past than to the future. He has also prove in very many ways that he refuses to change and that he is still thinking just as he did in the past.

[Boda] I do not have any other reason to stand by Mr. Iliescu than the fact that I believe in him. Certainly, you can put forward your own arguments against Mr. Iliescu's presence in the office of president. I do not have any other reasons, not even material ones, because I could have earned more in any other job than I am earning here. And apart from that, I would not be under such time pressure. You say that he is more connected to the past than to the future. I do not argue with that, taking into consideration his biological age. But in order to reach this future, we need his presence.

[Avramescu] For another period of four years?

[Boda] Yes. The moment when Romania no longer needs President Iliescu means that we have overcome the transition period. For the present, I do not see anybody else who can achieve the social balance that is needed so much.

[Avramescu] What do you mean by social balance, Mr. Boda? Where is this famous social balance that we owe to Mr. Iliescu? The general disaster of miners' reprisals in Bucharest, people falling dead in the street again, the bloody events in Tirgu Mures, the catastrophic drop in the standard of living, the reckless spending of the money left from the Ceausescu time, money that was collected through the merciless oppression of the people, and the hatred sown among social classes? Where, in God's name, can you see a social balance?

[Boda] I could contradict you not only with my own arguments, but using the arguments of several political commentators and analysts of the events in East Europe, most of whom believe that the preservation of this balance, no matter how fragile it is, can be achieved only through Mr. Iliescu's presence in the office of Romanian president. I do not know who else could have done it.

[Avramescu] And still, you have not answered my question. Do you call a social balance the incursion of the Securitate-miners' bands, who beat us up and made us the laughing stock of the world, the preservation of socialist industry intact, and on this basis, the bankruptcy that will bring about the sale of factories for a song, not to big firms but to some adventurers from here and there, the mistrust, confusion, and the reasons that made people go out in the street?

[Boda] Yes, Mr. Avramescu, I agree with all that. But why should we blame only one person for all these things?

[Avramescu] You said that we owe him all this balance and I said that there is no balance. If we do make one person account for all those evil things, then why should we owe the balance to one single person?

[Boda] I lived through every minute of the 25-27 September events in Bucharest. I believe that without Mr. Iliescu we would have faced a civil war.

[Avramescu] That was a war! There was fighting in the streets. People were killed and the government headquarters was set ablaze. Was that not enough?

[Boda] I can give you the opinions of certain foreign analysts who cannot be accused of being pro-Iliescu.

[Avramescu] Yes, there was a BBC program in Hungarian that praised Mr. Iliescu. I did not understand what their arguments were. Nevertheless, I found it strange.

[Boda] I am not talking about praise but about the appreciation expressed by a Swiss paper, which carried for the first time Petre Roman's accusations to the effect that I was the one who maneuvered the miners toward Bucharest.... I do not even wish to talk about this subject....

[Avramescu] Well, you did not maneuver them. But who did? Because it was obvious that somebody was directing their steps toward certain locations. Do you really not know what obscure forces were involved in that event?

[Boda] The events of 13-15 June are known to me only from the press and television. I was not at home at that time, I was abroad. I was an adviser in the Commission for the Problems of Minorities and Human Rights Within the CPUN [Provisional National Unity Council]. I was not a presidential counselor at that time.

[Avramescu] Is there no private investigation of the presidential institution in this respect? If Mr. Iliescu was so closely interested in what was going on in Jiu Valley, why would he not continue to be curious and find out who guided the miners in Bucharest?

[Boda] No, the presidential institution does not have its own investigation department. We have only the results of the investigation carried out by the parliamentary commission, maybe also the result of the investigation that the police and the prosecutor's office carried out in this respect, but I am not in possession of that information. I am not a person who has access to all sources of information. Certainly I have my own ideas. I can believe and I even suspect that there were certain forces backing the miners. However, I do not know how strong these forces were and I do not know how widespread they were when they were directing the miners through Bucharest....

[Avramescu] Who could that force have been? The former Securitate or the current SRI [Romanian Intelligence Service]?

[Boda] I do not believe in the story with the current SRI. What would have been the SRI's interest in it?

[Avramescu] Mr. Boda, I would like to ask you something, a very personal question, thus it is impossible for you not to be informed about it. It is said that you, just like Mr. Iliescu, are a person of a left orientation, not a center-left or a moderate orientation, but an evil left, even an extremist one. According to certain declarations included in the files of the parliamentary commission in charge of investigations, you had granted direct support to the party led by Ilie Verdet, which is basically the revived Communist Party under the mask of the Socialist Party of Labor. Even Ilie Verdet made some statements to this effect.

[Boda] He could not have done anything like that because I and Mr. Verdet have met only twice in my whole life, that is in January 1990. Afterwards, I lost all contact with him. As far as I know, he is accusing me of exactly the opposite, namely that I am undermining him. [passage omitted]

Nastase, Portuguese President Discuss Ties

AU0906203692 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1826 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 9/6/1992—The president of the Portuguese Court of Accounts, Antonio de Sousa, on a visit to Romania now in reciprocate a visit paid to Portugal by a delegation of Romania's Financial Guard, was received Tuesday, June 9, by the Romanian foreign minister, Adrian Nastase. Aspects were tackled of Romanian-Portuguese ties, considered to be unsatisfactory, although conditions have been created for their development. The two parties agreed that the political dialogue had to be enlarged, including swaps of visits at various levels. The Portuguese guest said he was sure that the actions on the Romanian-Portuguese diary would be resumed in the period to come, such as conclusion of economic cooperation agreements, investment promotion and guaranteeing, avoiding double taxation, intensified cooperation in the cultural and technical scientific field. The issue was tackled of the reopening of the Portuguese Embassy in Bucharest, that, according to the two ministers, can contribute to a better knowledge of the situation in Romania and the enlargement of Romanian-Portuguese ties.

Serb Leader Asks UNPROFOR To Mediate

LD0906170192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1715 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, 9 Jun (TANJUG)—The [Bosnian Serbs News Agency] SRNA reports today that Radovan Karadzic, president of the Presidency of the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, has informed UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Force] representative Colonel John Wilson in a letter that the Serb side is ready to negotiate in the presence of UNPROFOR.

Karadzic said that the Serb side "has received a message via liaison officer Colonel Jankovic that the other side wants to negotiate with our delegation in the presence of UNPROFOR."

The date and place of negotiations, Karadzic says in the letter to Wilson, can be agreed on, so we are asking you to negotiate. [passage omitted]

Official Comments on Fighting, Negotiations

AU0906145792 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1210 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Statement by Stjepan Kljujic, member of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina, at a news conference in the International Press Center in Sarajevo—live]

[Text] Good day, I welcome you all. On behalf of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina, I would like to inform you that the Presidency has discussed the war situation in the republic, and that the general conclusion is that the resistance of the people's patriotic front, which includes the members of all nationalities, all religions, and all political parties, is becoming increasingly strong.

Yesterday was a particularly difficult day for the liberators of Sarajevo who tried to prevent a renewed attempt by the terrorists to take the town and to divide it. You know we received information that yesterday was supposed to be D day for Sarajevo. However, not only did the defenders of the town manage to defend it, but they in fact launched a counteroffensive in some parts of the town. All battles were extremely fierce. The number of casualties is large on both sides. The number of wounded is almost catastrophic. I take this opportunity to pay tribute to all the victims and hope that it will become increasingly clear that the terrorists do not have a chance of capturing the town, of defeating the republic. At the same time we must do our utmost to end this war as soon as possible.

I must tell you that the war events are unfortunately being dictated by many factors outside Bosnia-Hercegovina. In this respect we should be happy with the increasingly resolute role of the world public, above all, the United Nations, aimed at ending the aggression against Bosnia-Hercegovina as soon as possible. However, be assured that the chances are much greater for us ending this war by ourselves than for it being done on our behalf.

Unfortunately, identifying the causes, duration, and consequences of the war is already over for many people. Out of all the evils and catastrophes that we have had in terms of casualties, material destruction, and spiritual destruction, I think that it is clear to all the citizens of Bosnia-Hercegovina that there is no ethnic or ideological clash here. What we have is the emergence of fascism in our country, and the victims of fascism.

The Presidency today held a meeting with dignitaries from all four confessions that are most represented in Bosnia-Hercegovina. The very fact that the political leadership of Bosnia-Hercegovina sat down and held talks with the representatives of the four main confessions indicates much. I will not talk about the course of the talks itself, because the representatives of the four confessions will speak at this conference. They will say something about this meeting.

I must tell you that the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina is conducting intensive international activities with regard to the opening of Sarajevo Airport, the protection of the remaining assets of Bosnia-Hercegovina. As you know, the destruction of everything that we had built up is indeed enormous. However, I share the view of many people who claim that the reconstruction after the war will be twofold. The necessary reconstruction of material assets will be easier. The second one, which will probably be slower, but which will be more important, is the spiritual and moral renewal.

The tradition of living in Bosnia-Hercegovina, tolerance and mutual respect has deep roots, but nevertheless experienced a catastrophe that has affected all citizens of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Bombs do not recognize people by their nationality or religion.

I would also like to say something else in connection with the town of Sarajevo, namely that all state organs have made additional effort to help citizens, particularly those in the occupied and surrounded areas. Unfortunately, we are not able to reach all places, even with the help of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], but I must tell you that there is a good chance that we will be able to distribute food and medicine in the next 24 hours to those who need it most.

Finally, let me tell you that last night the terrorist side called for a truce via Colonel Wilson. We cannot exactly determine at present whether this was ordered by Slobodan Milosevic because of political pressure from the entire world, or because of yesterday's fighting, which was indeed extremely heavy. What we can say to everyone, however, is that we are in favor of peace, but a peace in which everyone should be called to account for the evils he has done.

There will probably be no negotiations with the terrorists about reconciliation or forgiveness or retaining the status quo. I can only say on my own behalf that I would not take part in such negotiations. As regards negotiations with those who condemn crimes and who propose that the criminals be tried, who want to lay the foundations of the future coexistence, not only that they will take place, but will also be welcome.

Finally, let me tell you something about a sporting event. The chess team of Bosnia-Hercegovina, which is multinational, is taking part in the chess Olympics in the Philippines and scored their first victories. It held a news conference and was received extremely well.

We are glad that we succeeded under the most difficult circumstances to put together a team that is ranked fifth in the world among the mens' teams—those who follow sport know what that means—while the position of the womens' team was somewhat more modest, as they are 22d. However, this time it was just important for us to take part in the chess Olympics. I think that this is the first representation of the state of the Republic of Bosnia- Hercegovina on the international sports scene and you will be regularly informed of the results by BH PRESS [Bosnia-Hercegovina press agency] of not only our teams but about all events.

Protest Sent to UNPROFOR on Air Attack

AU1006131092 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1241 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Text] The Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina has sent a protest note to Colonel [words indistinct] (?in the headquarters) of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force]. The protest reads: Making use of your rescheduling of General MacKenzie's flight from Belgrade to Sarajevo yesterday, from 0900 to 1000, the former Yugoslav People's Army, in agreement with the pilot of the helicopter that was carrying General MacKenzie, carried out an air attack on Sarajevo. In addition, the Air Force of the former Yugoslav People's Army bombarded the positions of the defenders of Sarajevo. The Air Force dropped cluster bombs on Zuc hill.

Our special units recorded the conversation between the aforementioned pilot with the forces of the former Yugoslav People's Army. He said the following: I am above Visoko. Tell our people that the situation is favorable.

Clearly one can conclude from this that the aggressor against our republic is using the good service of your mission for its dirty aims. Therefore we ask you, regarding everything that is happening here, to undertake all that is necessary to influence the ending of this aggression. We also ask you to convey this protest to all relevant world organizations.

The protest note is signed by Jerko Doko, defense minister of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina,.

Izetbegovic Discusses Cooperation With Croatia

LD0906145392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1338 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Text] Zagreb, 9 June (TANJUG)—Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia will be able to discuss their mutual relations once conditions permit, President of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency Alija Izetbegovic said in an interview with Croatian television and the HINA agency, published in today's NOVI VJESNIK.

Commenting on the Split agreement with the Croatian Democratic Community, Alija Izetbegovic said that such constitutional changes require most wide-ranging political consultations with the parties and people. These are big decisions that cannot be implemented in these circumstances but they nevertheless provide an orientation for the future, he added.

In Izetbegovic's words, the purpose of the Split agreement is mainly military cooperation "in order to halt this aggression" and coordinate "defense measures against the mutual enemy."

Izetbegovic maintains that the Yugoslav Army, Belgrade, and Serbia are responsible for what is going on in Bosnia-Hercegovina and that they will have to pay war damage compensation once this question is raised.

Speaking about the role of the Croatian Defense Council in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Izetbegovic said that "the Croatian Defense Council respects the authority of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency."

"There are difficulties stemming from the fact that at present we have the Croatian Defense Council and the Territorial Defense but the Croatian Defense Council is willing to join some future army of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Nonetheless, at the moment both the Croatian Defense Council and the Territorial Defense are doing the same job," Izetbegovic said.

"From the outset we have been saying that we do not blame the Serbian people. We specified that it was Serbia, the Yugoslav Army and the leadership of the Serbian Democratic Party and a large number of its members who should bear the blame," Izetbegovic said.

Serb Official Criticizes Croatia's 'Aggression'

LD0906185692 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1551 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Jun (TANJUG)—The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina today sent a letter, signed by Minister Aleksa Buha, informing the international community about the participation of regular army units of the Republic of Croatia in the fighting against the Serbian nation.

In a letter also forwarded to TANJUG, the ministry says that the Serbian nation in the Serbian Republic of

Bosnia-Hercegovina has been exposed to "murderous terror by regular forces of another state."

According to the ministry, the Muslim-Croat side "has taken advantage of the Serbian side's readiness to bring the war in Bosnia- Hercegovina to an end as soon as possible."

Combat activities by the Muslim-Croat forces "are gradually assuming the proportions of genocide against the Serbian nation in Bosnia-Hercegovina," the letter says.

"Following the withdrawal of the Yugoslav People's Army from the territory of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, regular military formations of the Republic of Croatia together with the Croat forces of Bosnia-Hercegovina launched ferocious attacks on the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina along the lines of contact between these two ethnic communities," the letter states.

The ministry wishes to inform the international public that in northern Bosnia regular forces of the Republic of Croatia "have for months been taking part in combat activities of the Croat-Muslim coalition and the world public has already been acquainted with their crimes against the Serbian nation in Bosanski Brod, Derventa, and Odzak."

The ministry points out that the town of Trebinje has been bombarded four times from the territory of the Republic of Croatia.

In these attacks a kindergarten, a hospital, a school, and residential buildings have been hit.

It is also noted that along the entire Trebinje to Mostar line, and further up to Konjic and Bradina, regular forces of the Republic of Croatia and the Croatian forces of Bosnia-Hercegovina have for days been attacking the territories of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

"The time has come for this aggression on the part of the Republic of Croatia against the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina to be stopped," the ministry says, and goes on to stress that "pressure must be urgently brought to bear on the Muslim-Croat side to adhere to the existing cease-fire agreement."

Otherwise, the Serbian nation in the Serbian Republic of Bosnia- Hercegovina will be forced to use "all means available to people in such a situation" to fight for its survival, the ministry points out.

Government Update of Situation in Republic

AU0906165892 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Text] We now have a few reports on the situation in the republic which we received through the information office of the Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The territory of Tuzla has been shelled again from terrorist positions on Majevica, and shells coming from here hit the Kalesija Commune. The long distance power line in Tuzla was hit, as well as other premises. The Teslic District of Senjak was razed to the ground and the aggressors destroyed the local mosque. Around 2,000 Muslims managed to flee to Tesanj, which is already full of refugees, while 10,000 Muslims and Croats have remained completely surrounded by the enemy.

The territory of Brcko continues to be the target of terrorist attacks and looting by special forces from Serbia, which took part in the destruction of bridges on the Sava on 30 April. They are joined in their dirty work by forces loyal to Zeljko Raznjatovic Arkan, Vojislav Seselj, and the so-called weekend volunteers who come from Bijeljina and the surrounding area in order to return with trucks full of all sorts of looted property.

Forces of the Territorial Defense of the Republic of Bosnia- Hercegovina are controlling the old road between Zepce, Novi Seher, and Teslic, and in an attack on Novi Seher, the enemy pounded religious premises among others. The latest news from this area speaks about the increasing successes of the forces of the republic's Territorial Defense. The forces of the Territorial Defense of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina have successfully repelled attacks by Serbian terrorists on Bugojno, and in their flight the aggressors left their wounded behind.

With the aim of joining together the so-called Serbian territories of Ozren and Romanija, extremists of the Party of Democratic Action [name of party as heard] from Ilijas and Olovo have been organizing the resettlement of the Serbian and Muslim populations from the districts in which these nations are in the minority. Air lifts have been established between Ozren and Romanija so that every day helicopters have been transporting the ill and wounded from the Tuzla battlefield to Sokolac, returning with weapons and other military equipment. By the way, the major part of the aggressor forces in Sokolac take part in attacks on Gorazde.

The territory of Gorazde has again been subjected to attacks by Serbian terrorists using heavy artillery weapons. The defenders of the town, who are increasingly successfully opposing the attackers, have appealed to international humanitarian organizations for food and medical aid for the population and the large number of refugees who have been living in complete isolation and under a total blockade for more than a month.

Serbs Capture East Hercegovina Villages

LD0906201792 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1756 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Text] Bileca, June 9 (TANJUG)—The Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina troops took the East Hercegovina villages of Zaplanik and Vukovici, in the vicinity of Trebinje, on Tuesday, after fierce clashes which had continued throughout the previous day and night.

The two villages were held by the Croatian regular Army since the Yugoslav Federal Army's withdrawal from these parts at the end of May.

The Hercegovina Corps press centre of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina Army reported that the regular troops of the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, fighting in Hercegovina, suffered heavy losses in the battles for Zaplanik and Vukovici.

The Hercegovina Corps press centre also reported that the Croatian troops are retreating in panic.

The Hercegovina Corps press centre said that the Croatian Army's offensive on positions held by Bosnia-Hercegovina Serbs in Mostar, the administrative centre of Hercegovina, and the Mostar surroundings, which began on Tuesday morning, is still under way.

The Bosnia-Hercegovina Serbs proclaimed the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina in the territories where they are the majority population after the European Community recognized the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina as a sovereign state at the request of the Muslim-Croat coalition and contrary to the wishes of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Serbs.

Since then, for more than two months now, the fighting has been underway between the Muslims and the Croats on the one side and the Serbs on the other.

Around 35 thousand-strong regular troops of the Republic of Croatia are fighting in the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

UN Peacekeeping Forces Due 10 June

LD0906224492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2052 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Text] United Nations, June 9 (TANJUG)—The United Nations Protection Force in Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR) begins its new operation, this time in the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, on June 10, it was officially announced in the U.N. Headquarters in New York.

A group of around 30 military observers, headed by Unprofor Chief of Staff Canadian General Lewis Mackenzie, are to leave Belgrade for Sarajevo, the capital of war-torn Bosnia-Hercegovina, on Wednesday.

This will be the beginning of the first stage of U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali's plan for unblocking the Sarajevo airport, which was approved by the U.N. Security Council in a resolution adopted on Monday evening.

Under the plan and on the basis of the resolution, first a team of experts and military observers is to be sent to the Sarajevo airport, through which the delivery of humanitarian aid for the population of Sarajevo is to be organized.

In the later stage, after a firm ceasefire is established, a battalion of UNPROFOR soldiers will be sent to secure the airport and a safety zone around [word indistinct].

A decision by the U.N. secretary-general is sufficient for the implementation of the first stage, which begins on Wednesday and is to be completed with the sending of another group of military observers and civilian police from some other U.N. peacekeeping operations, probably from Cyprus and the Middle East.

The second stage, which involves the deployment of troops who will provide military security for the airport [words indistinct].

The resolution also call on the secretary-general to submit such a proposal in a very short period [words indistinct] i.e. in seven days, which indicates the urgency with which the Security Council would like to implement the operation aimed at ensuring urgent humanitarian aid to the suffering population of Sarajevo and other towns in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

When violations of the ceasefire agreement stop, a team of 40 French flight control experts will be sent to Sarajevo to check the equipment at Butmir airport and make a final decision on its use.

It has been unofficially confirmed in New York that the additional infantry battalion for Sarajevo will be [word indistinct] by France, which already has its own military detachment in UNPROFOR.

Official Urges Referendum on Confederation

92BA1010C Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 26 May 92 p 15

[Article by Dr. Rusmir Mahmutcehajic: "Referendum on Confederation"]

[Text] The force and scale of the aggression are confusing the entire world. The policy of peace and agreement now has to be fundamentally reshaped, because peace and democracy in Bosnia-Hercegovina [B-H] depend on opposing aggression and terrorism. It is through that opposition that we must create the conditions for liberation of the entire Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina and for revival of democracy. And that is certainly possible by creating an alliance of all the patriotic and democratic forces, which—at both the individual and collective level, in addition to liberation would clearly know the goals and future system of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina. That must certainly arise from the very nature of Bosnia-Hercegovina. That is why today the defense of Bosnia-Hercegovina is bound up with reassertion of the organic unity of the four great sacred traditions within the limits of the historical boundaries of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Respecting that fact, the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina sees the confirmation and protection of its cultural and historical paradigm in a strengthening and elaboration of its European orientation. That

means reestablishing and broadening ties with democratic states near and far. The fact that more than two-thirds of the border of Bosnia-Hercegovina is with the Republic of Croatia, along with the Mediterranean persistence of its development, indicates that lasting ties between the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina are unavoidable. With their aggression and terrorism against the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Serbia and Montenegro have built up a wall, even though on the borders with them crossings and bridges to independent states should have been built. That wall will be torn down in the future as democracy becomes stronger and human rights are promoted in those states. The tearing down of that wall will moreover depend directly on the speed and effectiveness of the aggressor's defeat throughout the entire territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina, which is a precondition for establishing all the democratic rights of the citizens of Bosnia and Hercegovina, regardless of political, ethnic, and religious allegiance. Aggression and terrorism have disrupted for a long time the equilibrium of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the political, cultural, and historical jewel in the setting of the Mediterranean ring.

It is precisely on that basis that we should understand the Split agreement between representatives of the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] in Bosnia-Hercegovina and the Democratic Action Party [SDA]. The agreement postulates the necessity of binding together all the sides of Bosnia-Hercegovina in the struggle for liberation, and the indivisibility and independence as a state of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina are confirmed by the assessment that the confederal relation between Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina suits these two independent states. This assessment is neither new nor strange, because it is based on obvious facts. In no way does it omit the other dimensions of the identity of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

And because we are discussing a political assessment, the decision should be sought in the democratically expressed will of all the citizens of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, which will be possible only after liberation and after all the democratic institutions of the republic have resumed operation. That agreement takes a clear position toward the aggressor and establishes the need for decisive and organized opposition, which should result in the collapse of the aggressor's military force and guarantee that all the criminals are brought before the court of justice. The next to the last paragraph of that agreement renounces the right and possibility of any political agreement with [original reads "concerning"] those who are committing aggression and terrorism against the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina. And that means that the representatives of these two political parties in Bosnia and Hercegovina no longer consider it acceptable to talk to the extremist segment of the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] of Bosnia-Hercegovina, because they see in it those who have incited, organized, and carried out the rebellion and violence against the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

This agreement advances to the first place the defense and liberation of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, while it leaves to constitutional arrangement a time of freedom and peace in which the democratic will expressed in democratic procedure will be possible over the entire territory of the republic.

Any reduction of this agreement to a decision that finally defines the status of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina as a state would be a gross oversimplification. The agreement is a confirmation of early positions and a stimulation for discussion in which all the political parties on the political scene of Bosnia-Hercegovina must inevitably participate. That discussion would generate constitutional proposals on which the citizens of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina or the Bosnia-Hercegovina parliament would take a position in a referendum. It is not acceptable to exclude any political orientation from the debate, just as alliances of some against others are not acceptable, without respect for democratic rights and procedures. It is now a question of unifying all the patriotic forces in the struggle against aggression and terrorism. And the decisions will be made under the conditions of peace and freedom throughout the republic.

JNA Holds Talks With Dubrovnik Representatives

LD0906203192 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Text] Talks were held in occupied Cavtat today between representatives of the Dubrovnik municipal assembly and representatives of the former Yugoslav People's Army [JNA], mediated by members of the EC monitoring mission. The talks focused on humanitarian questions. In particular, on ways of helping the population of Cavtat and Konavli who are still under the aggressor's occupation.

It has been learned that the dispatch of humanitarian aid for about 3,000 persons in Cavtat and Konvali has been agreed for tomorrow. This aid will be sent tomorrow morning on the ship Astral, owned by Atlas [tourist company]. An exchange of prisoners has also been a subject of the talks, since the last two announced exchanges were not talked about.

Today's meeting in Cavtat was the first official contact with the other side which, 14 days ago, banned passanger ships from sailing between Dubrovnik and Cavtat. Since then there has been no news about the fate of Cavtat and Konavli.

Krajina Minister Warns on Blockade Consequences

LD0906180892 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1606 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Text] Knin, 9 Jun (TANJUG)—Dobrosav Vejzovic, foreign affairs minister of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], sent a letter today to UN Secretary General Butrus Ghali in connection with Resolution 757, warning of the consequences stemming from total traffic isolation of Krajina.

Vejzovic drew attention, in particular, to the developments in Bosnia and to the sudden influx of refugees from that republic, not just Serbs but also Croats and Muslims. There are 30 to 40,000 refugees. The problem of the so-called disputed or pink [ruzicaste] zones is not fully resolved, Vejzovic stressed, because people are leaving these areas en masse for areas under UN protection, which leaves RSK bodies with unsurmountable problems of accommodation, food, and health care.

For these and other reasons, RSK Foreign Affairs Minister Dobrosav Vejzovic proposed, in line with Cyrus Vance's plan, that an air and land corridor with Krajina be established under UN Protection Force guarantees. The minister also noted the changed circumstances since February.

Regarding the so-called pink zones, with 180 villages and about 50,000 people, Vejzovic stressed in the letter to Butrus Ghali that failure to protect these people, the Serb population, will bring about an additional 50,000 refugees, bearing in mind past experience with the current Croatian authorities. The RSK government and the people from these areas want a permanent solution that will not lead to future war conflicts, the letter of Minister Vejzovic to Butrus Ghali concluded.

Greguric Opens Emergency Aid Meeting

LD0906162192 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Excerpt] A one-day emergency meeting on aid for displaced people and refugees is being held in Zagreb. Representatives of 21 countries and 15 international organizations are are trying to find the best ways of sharing the burden of aid. Jadranka Kosor reports:

[Kosor] Croatian Prime Minister Franjo Greguric opened the meeting, saying that the aggression of the Serb-Montenegrin alliance first set in motion the army of the former Yugoslavia and then units of volunteers. Furthermore, they caused mass bloodshed and the largest exodus of civilians on European soil since World War II. [passage omitted]

Turkish Minister Addresses Zagreb Meeting

TA0906191592 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 1700 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Excerpt] While fighting continues in Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the refugee problem is being discussed at an international meeting in Zagreb, the capital of Croatia.

The meeting is being attended by representatives of 19 countries and 14 international organizations. Turkey is being represented by State Minister Orhan Kilercioglu.

In a speech at the meeting, Kilercioglu said that the only reason for the tragedy in Bosnia-Hercegovina is the unjust Serbian attacks. Those attacks must stop immediately, he said.

Kilercioglu stressed that the massacre continues in Bosnia-Hercegovina despite the UN embargo, and for this massacre to stop, the international community must assume its duties. Turkey is making efforts, within its means, to provide political and humanitarian help, and those efforts will continue, Kilercioglu said.

Before the meeting, Kilercioglu met with Croatian Deputy Prime Minister Mate Granic, who briefed him on the situation in the region and asked Turkey to increase its efforts by using its influence in the region with third world countries in order to end the fighting. [passage omitted]

International

Presidency Issues Appeal on Bosnia-Hercegovina

LD0906143992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1256 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Jun (TANJUG)—The Presidency of Yugoslavia today issued an appeal in which it stresses that "the constant and increasingly intensified artillery bombardment of Sarajevo, Trebinje, Mostar, Modrica, Bosanski Samac, Tuzla, Derventa, Kupres, and of other towns and populated areas in Bosnia-Hercegovina as a result of fierce inter-ethnic armed conflicts in that republic, are condemned with utmost concern and indignation."

Despite all the efforts to restore peace and the sharp warnings from the entire world, tragic armed confrontations continue, the Presidency says in its appeal.

In its belief that inter-ethnic confrontations and mutual annihilation will lead to a general catastrophe, the Presidency calls on all warring sides immediately and unconditionally to end destructive armed conflicts.

This applies to all states that have been interfering in these armed conflicts: By sending their armed formations, by supplying weapons and military equipment, by sending financial help to pursue the war, by offering military assistance and intervention, and by other activities that serve to incite the conflict even more.

The Presidency of Yugoslavia wishes to stress on this occasion that the sole way to resolve the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina is through negotiations and a common agreement with maximum respect for the interests of all three constituent nations.

Eagleburger Tells Envoy Claims 'Not Accepted'

LD1006110992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0306 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Text] Washington, June 10 (TANJUG)—Vice-Secretary of the U.S. State Department Lawrence Eagleburger has not accepted claims by the Belgrade authorities that they are unable to control the military activities of Serb formations in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

In a talk with Yugoslav Ambassador in Washington Dzevad Mujezinovic on Tuesday evening, Eagleburger said that Belgrade's explanations for the clashes in Bosnia-Hercegovina are unsatisfactory.

Mujezinovic, who returned to Washington this week after consultations in Belgrade, informed Eagleburger about the Yugoslav stands on settling the problem in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Eagleburger reiterated the U.S. demand that the airport in Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia-Hercegovina, be reopened and that safe passage be secured for the convoy which is to take over humanitarian aid supplies for the republic's population.

In spite of Mujezinovic's explanation that Belgrade has no control of the clashes in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Eagleburger called on the Yugoslav authorities to create the conditions for the delivery of food and medicaments to the population in war-torn Bosnia- Hercegovina.

The state department released a brief statement to the effect that it is Belgrade's duty to stop the fighting, because "Belgrade has created that monster."

United Nations To Reconsider Effect of Sanctions

LD1006042592 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0024 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Text] United Nations, June 9 (TANJUG)—The United Nations special committee for controlling the sanctions against Yugoslavia is to reconsider on Wednesday the effect of the sanctions adopted by the U.N. Security Council, it was heard in the organization's New York headquarters on Tuesday.

The sanctions were imposed against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on May 30, with the explanation that its two republics—Serbia and Montenegro—are to blame for the war which broke out two months ago in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia- Hercegovina.

Although the full agenda of the Wednesday session has not yet been announced, there are indications that it might include a letter by Vice-President of the Yugoslav Presidency Branko Kostic, asking for the lifting of the sanctions unjustly imposed against Yugoslavia.

The letter says that the Yugoslav Presidency has met all the demands set by the U.N. in the Resolution 757, and denied any involvement in the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina. It says that all Yugoslav Army units have withdrawn from the republic and adds that Yugoslavia has no territorial claims at all. The letter was announced on Tuesday as an official United Nations document.

According to the procedure of the work of the U.N. bodies, the committee is entitled to propose to the Security Council how long the sanctions should last and whether they should be lifted. Observers, however, say that it is highly unlikely that the lifting of the sanctions will be discussed as early as Wednesday, all the more so because reports from Sarajevo confirm that agreements on ceasefire are persistently being violated.

Even before the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was proclaimed by Serbia and Montenegro on April 27, the federal state did its best to prevent the escalation of ethnic clashes in Bosnia-Hercegovina between the republic's three constituent nations—Moslems, Serbs and Croats. Under a decision reached by the Yugoslav Presidency, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia withdrew all its citizens—members of the Yugoslav Army—from Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Since the last remaining troops evacuated the Sarajevo barracks on May [as received] 5, the Yugoslav Army and therefore the republics of Serbia and Montenegro have taken no part whatsoever in the clashes in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The U.N. Security Council's committee for controlling the implementation of sanctions was formed last autumn under the Resolution 724, in order to implement the U.N. embargo on arms deliveries to Yugoslavia during clashes in the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia. Huge quantities of weapons were smuggled into Croatia and Slovenia precisely during that period, about which the Yugoslav Government has informed the committee in detail.

The committee is also competent [as received] for the sanctions against Yugoslavia adopted under the Resolution 757, which instructed an all out economic isolation of Serbia and Montenegro.

NATO's Galvin Cited on Sending Troops

LD1006043392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0136 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Text] Washington, June 9 (TANJUG)—The commander-in-chief of the NATO forces in Europe, General John Galvin, said that NATO does not plan to send many troops to Yugoslavia for now. He told the CNN television network on Tuesday that Yugoslavia is a kind of place which could "swallow" troops.

On the possibility of a military takeover of the Sarajevo Airport, Gen. Galvin said that two divisions, or 25,000 soldiers, would be required to take over the airport and protect it from attacks. He explained that the airport is located in a valley encircled by mountains, and pointed out that no actions should be taken for the time being.

As far as future NATO peace operations are concerned, Gen. Galvin said that granting the request of the CSCE for the engagement of NATO forces outside the organization's member-states is a great step forward.

Gen. Galvin said that NATO troops are already in a position to take part in such operations, but added that NATO does not plan a massive engagement of its troops for now. He added that Europe and the United States have a role in Yugoslavia, either in supplying humanitarian aid or something else.

Delegation Unable To Attend Aviation Talks

LD0906211392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1508 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, June 9 (TANJUG)—A transportation blockade prevented the Yugoslav delegation from leaving on Tuesday for Vienna for a two-day meeting of the Regional Bureau of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), as the Yugoslav Federal Information Secretariat said on Tuesday.

The transportation blockade is one of a series of very stiff economic and political sanctions introduced against Yugoslavia by the U.N. Security Council on May 30.

The purpose of the Vienna ICAO meeting is to ensure safe and regular international air transport at an altitude of over 9,000 meters in the region of south-eastern Europe.

Along with representatives of Austria, Hungary,[words indistinct] former [word indistinct] Yugoslav Republics of Slovenia and Croatia [words indistinct] the meeting was to be attended by a delegation of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Arkan: Only Bosnian SDG Members in Sarajevo

92BA1020A Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 30-31 May 92 p 18

[Article by G. Katic: "We Will Defend Serbia With the Truth"]

[Text] Belgrade—Yesterday, the news that Zeljko "Arkan" Raznjatovic had been killed, which was published by HINA [Croatian wire service] and TV Sarajevo, and that he had been secretly buried in a grave near Igalo was denied by Raznjatovic himself in the Belgrade hotel "Majestic" before more than 100 domestic and foreign journalists.

Arkan said that Serbia had lost the media war, and then he explained that several generals had been replaced because they had not given journalists access to information from the battlefield, and that he and his fighting men had had exceptional contacts with the "fourth estate" and that they would continue to defend Serbia with the truth.

In answer to the question of whether Slobodan Milosevic had put pressure on him to withdraw his troops from B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina], Raznjatovic answered: "We have no forces in Sarajevo. Because in that case I myself would be in Bosnia. He did not put any pressure on us. My fighting men are on leave. Some are in Montenegro at the seashore, and others are in Greece."

At the insistence of journalists that his people had been seen last week in a Sarajevo hotel, Arkan said that only those had remained in B-H who were members of the Serbian Volunteer Guard [SDG] who were from there in order to defend their wives and children. The Serbs from Bosnia will decide in what state they want to live in a referendum.

Explaining the position of the SDG within the framework of the Serbian military forces, Arkan said: "We are not a paramilitary formation; we fight along with the federal army. We are fighting for unification of the Serbian lands and the Serbian army. We want a new professional Serbian army in which there would be real heroes and soldiers with us. As far as I am concerned, I do not want to be an officer."

Arkan added that the Serbian Volunteer Guard is not the puppet of the Serbian police, nor of any political party, and that his troops have not received a single dinar from the state, and that they had turned over to the federal army 20 tanks, many cannon, ammunition, and light armament.

One question was whether it was true that 30 of his people had been transported by military helicopter to Sarajevo. Arkan replied that that is a military secret, but that he personally had not been in Sarajevo. He also said that he is very familiar with the city of Sarajevo, and for that reason he said that not a single Serb could fire on people who were standing in line for bread.

Arkan reproached the foreign journalists for not putting questions about the massacre of soldiers who were 16 and 17 years old and who had suffered even though they had been guaranteed safety by UNPROFOR [UN Protective Force] and the International Red Cross.

[Box, p 18]

We Will Not Give In

"It is my opinion that at this time we do not need political parties. We all need to be together. I am naturally in favor of democracy; I am not in favor of an iron curtain, but you have to leave us to find the way to it ourselves. We will not give in to any pressures, and we will never sing 'Danke Deutschland.'"

Federal

Sanctions Not To Affect Food Supply in 1992

LD0906161192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1438 GMT 9 Jun 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, June 9 (TANJUG)—U.N. sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will not, in 1992, seriously affect the supply of the Yugoslav market with basic food stuffs thanks to home production.

The Yugoslav Ministry of Agriculture assessed, however, that shortages are likely of citrus fruit, coffee, tea and spices which are imported.

Even though the food is not included in the U.N. trade embargo, the import of all agricultural and food products to Yugoslavia will be extremely difficult owing to the transport blockade and the cancelling of all foreign payment transactions.

The Federal Ministry of Agriculture assessed that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, consisting of the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro, will this year produce 2.32 million tonnes of wheat. The country's annual bread wheat needs total 1.9 million tonnes.

Domestic production of corn, sugar, cooking oil, potatoes, milk, meat and eggs, will be sufficient to cover the domestic needs, the Ministry of Agriculture further claimed.

The U.N. sanctions will affect the export of agricultural and food articles, as well as the production of artificial fertilizers, plant protection chemicals and veterinary medicaments which depend on imported components. The running of the food industry will be also considerably impeded.

Owing to the ban on the export of food alone Yugoslavia will lose 430 million dollars by the end of the year. From food exports in 1992 Yugoslavia expected 630 million dollars. In the period since January until the date the U.N. sanctions became effective Yugoslavia exported food worth around 200 million dollars.

Within the framework of fuel rationing measures following the U.N. oil embargo, Serbia introduced on Tuesday fuel coupons for farmers as well.

New Chamber of Citizens To Meet 11 June

LD0906212192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1533 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 9 Jun (TANJUG)—The Chamber of Citizens of the new federal parliament will be made up of deputies from five political parties: the Socialist Party of Serbia, the Democratic Party of Socialists of Montenegro, the Serbian Radical Party, the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia, and the Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians, as well as representatives of citizens' groups. The chamber will consist of 138 deputies: 30 from Montenegro and 108 from Serbia.

The federal parliament will meet for the first time on Thursday, 11 June. [passage omitted]

Airline Pilots Protest Government Actions

LD0706135592 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1759 GMT 3 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Jun (TANJUG)—Today's statement by the Association of Yugoslav Airline Pilots (YALPA) states that the moves by the current authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], or in other words of the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro, have contributed a great deal to the introduction of the UN economic embargo against Yugoslavia.

The statement, signed by YALPA Chairman Nikola Djuricko, assesses that "owing to the nature of their work and the incompetence of Yugoslav authorities, our pilots have been the first to be affected by the UN sanctions."

Stating that a prolonged period without flying means a threat to 600 pilots of JAT and Aviogenex of losing their flying licenses, YALPA stresses that it must "raise its

voice against the policy that is threatening an entire profession with suspension."

The statement says that YALPA will inform the world federation of airline pilots associations that it dissociates itself from the moves of the FRY authorities. "In this way we will, since the FRY Government will not do so, defend our national interests in the best way we can, or else Yugoslavia will remain without civil aviation pilots," YALPA states.

Serbia

SPS Faction Seeks Changes in Party

LD0906125492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1009 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Jun (TANJUG)—Jovan Cvetkovic, a deputy of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] in the National Assembly of Serbia, today confirmed in a statement for TANJUG that a group of SPS deputies met yesterday behind closed doors with members of the ruling party's executive committee. However, he refused to reveal any details about the meeting.

In addition to Cvetkovic, another five of the group of 12 SPS deputies who recently sent a letter to the SPS main committee and the leader of its group of deputies in the republic's parliament took part in yesterday's meeting, which was attended by half the executive committee members.

Attempts by TANJUG yesterday and this morning to learn from the SPS leadership more details about the meeting remained unsuccessful.

Cvetkovic mentioned that reference was made to plans to release a joint statement about the meeting, held in Belgrade, but the SPS executive committee members abandoned the idea.

Cvetkovic, a deputy from Svetozarevo, said that the meeting was lengthy. We voiced our proposals and asked the executive committee to state what it thought about them, Cvetkovic said. If we are ignored and are met with a lack of understanding, or if the executive committee's attitude to our proposals is unsatisfactory we will first inform the public about this, probably on Friday, Cvetkovic announced.

The letter sent to the SPS main board by the 12 deputies, Cvetkovic states, stresses that the ill-conceived policy of the SPS is reflected in its lack of consistent implementation of the SPS program, its wrong personnel policy, the way it created the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and its approach to the Yugoslav Peoples' Army, the opposition, SPS membership, deputies in the assembly, as well as in its poor conceptual solutions to the crisis.

"We are demanding changes to its personnel, that is where the main problem lies," Cvetkovic stressed. "We aspire above all," he explains, "to bring about changes within the SPS, or to be more specific—changes to the party's direction.

"We maintain that this is fair. If this proves to be impossible, or if it is not taken seriously we will take other steps, too."

In such a case, Cvetkovic concludes, the dissatisfied SPS deputies will first set up an independent deputies' group in the Assembly of Serbia, and then they will embark on setting up a new party.

Apart from Cvetkovic's statement it has been learned among the ranks of frustrated SPS deputies that a draft program, symbols, application forms and membership cards of Serbia's Social Democratic Party have already been printed. There are hints from the same sources that the 12 SPS deputies could be joined by some other deputies to the republican parliament, including some opposition deputies, within the next few days.

An unofficially estimated figure of 50 deputies is being rumored. If this turns out to be true they would be the second largest group of deputies, after the SPS, in the Serbian Assembly.

SPS Leader: Serbia To 'Confront' Sanctions

AU0906211492 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Milivoje Mihajlovic report]

[Text] Speaking at the meeting of the citizens of Kosovo Polje this evening, Zivorad Igic, member of the Executive Committee of the Main Committee of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS], pointed out that the UN Security Council introduced sanctions against Yugoslavia under the pressure of militant circles in the West whose aim is to break up Yugoslavia into small vassal states. According to Igic, the alleged aggression by Serbia against Bosnia-Hercegovina has served as an excuse for introducing sanctions. He also said that the new Yugoslavia represents an unbridgeable obstacle to the West and its neo-colonial subjugation of the East:

[Begin Igic recording] The UN sanctions which have already come into effect are neither going to be easy nor simple to bear. Their authors planned them to bring Serbia and Montenegro to their knees. Many efforts, much endeavor, and many sacrifices will be needed in order to soften their impact. However, they have not for a moment confused or weakened us. We are never going to beg because of them and even less kneel before those who have introduced them and are implementing them now. All we are going to do is to confirm the truth and to make it triumph, so that the world will understand and be persuaded that sanctions are not a product of justice, but of force and injustice. The dignity of Serbia and of the Serbian people will not give in to any pressures, threats, or blackmail. They are particularly not going to give in to those forces, be they foreign or domestic, that

are demanding the resignation of Serbia's leadership chosen by the people's will and headed by Comrade Slobodan Milosevic, president of the republic, as a price for solving this situation imposed on the Serbian people.

Such demands, which are naive, apolitical, undemocratic, and above all contrary to the feelings of the people, have revealed one more dimension of the background and aims of introducing the sanctions: to force the resignation of the legal and legitimate leadership to whom the people gave their trust in a plebiscite held a week ago, for the second time in less than a year and a half. Does one have to explain that these so-called saviors of Serbia in the country and the so-called friends of the Serbian people in the West and in America are thereby demanding the resignation of the Serbian people itself?

The Government of Serbia, its Assembly, and its president have not been elected on the streets or in demonstrations, at meetings or by petitions, by the West or by America, so they are not going to be replaced in that way either. [end recording]

Serbia, Igic said, is not going to give in to pressures. According to him, sanctions are going to have big negative consequences, but they are not omnipotent either. With its economy and its potential, Serbia will be able to confront them.

Zivorad Igic expressed his belief that the United Nations will realize its mistake soon.

Replacement of Milosevic Seen as 'Lowest Price'

LD0906202192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1838 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, June 9 (TANJUG)—The Democratic Movement of Serbia (Depos) on Tuesday called on Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic to resign and [word indistinct] his competences to an interim government which would be in charge of all state affairs until a constitutional assembly is elected.

Depos representatives told a news conference that the movement presented the demands in a letter, sent to the Serbian president on Tuesday.

Depos was formed in late May by four opposition parties in Serbia—the Serbian Renewal Movement and the Democratic Party (the two strongest opposition parties in the Serbian parliament), and the Serbian Liberal Party and the New Democracy-Movement for Serbia which do not have seats in the parliament.

Depos said that, whereas the World-War-Two invader of Serbia had prescribed "hundred for one" reprisal, the U.N. is now demanding "one for all."

"All are the Serbian people and one is you, Mr. President of the Republic of Serbia," Depos said in its letter read out by writer and academician Matija Beckovic.

The movement said Milosevic's resignation would [words indistinct] prevent the outbreak of a civil war in Serbia [words indistinct].

Asked if Depos really believes that Milosevic's withdrawal would mean an end to hardships and whether this means that the U.N. sanctions against Yugoslavia are justified, [words indistinct] that "Serbia alone is to be blamed" for the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Beckovic said: "Depos does not have a word of justification for the sanctions, but believes that replacing the political regime which has brought Serbia to the edge of abyss is the lowest price."

If Milosevic fails to resign within less than eight days, Depos will on June 21 gather all political parties and national institutions of Serbia for a "National Democratic Assembly." Depos representatives, however, failed to specify the character and objectives of the gathering, but said Depos would prefer "Prague" to "Bucharest."

Depos members—Serbian intellectuals Matija Beckovic, Slobodan Selenic and Kosta Cavoski—told reporters the threat of a civil war in Serbia was very realistic. However, they rejected the possibility that the authorities would use the Army to suppress the June 21 gathering.

"I believe the new army will side with its people," Depos spokesman Vladeta Jankovic said.

Depos also appealed to all warring sides in Bosnia-Hercegovina "to save the Bosnian capital Sarajevo" and end hostilities.

Bosnia-Hercegovina has for two months been torn by armed clashes between its three national communities—Moslems, Croats and [words indistinct] recognizing the republic's independence at the request of the Moslem-Croat coalition, without the consent of Serbs who make up one-third of the republic's population.

Depos representatives told reporters the movement had formed a foreign political board to try to improve Serbia's international image and establish firmer ties with Serbs in the diaspora.

Draskovic Blames Milosevic, Tudjman for War

AU0906101192 Vienna PROFIL in German 9 Jun 92 p 58

[Interview with Serbian opposition leader Vuk Draskovic by Gregor Mayer in Belgrade; date not given: "Collective Retaliation"]

[Text] [Mayer] What do you think of the sanctions that the United Nations has imposed against Serbia and Montenegro?

[Draskovic] I oppose any kind of sanctions, in particular sanctions against entire peoples. The principle of collective retaliation is medieval and unacceptable to me. I do not see the UN sanctions as punishment for the Serbian

people, but as a warning to the Serbian people that those responsible for the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina are sitting in Belgrade.

[Mayer] The West is considering a military intervention in Bosnia-Hercegovina to ensure safe routes for humanitarian relief shipments, for instance.

[Draskovic] I cannot imagine that military actions in Bosnia—no matter against whom—would yield any results. This would be very, very dangerous. The Balkans are the Balkans and the world should know that. It would be extremely risky to provoke a war in the Balkans, which might then also spread to Russia or to some other place.

[Mayer] In your view, should those responsible for this war—politicians, generals, chief propagandists—be put on trial as soon as the war is over?

[Draskovic] Yes, it would be our task to indict in particular those politicians who are responsible for this unnecessary, bloody, dirty war. Second, I would like to see journalists indicted in this trial, both Serbian and Croatian journalists, who served these political leaders and set the people at each other's throats.

[Mayer] You like to mention Milosevic and Croatian President Tudjman in one breath.

[Draskovic] Yes, both regimes have equally destroyed Yugoslavia and brought about this war. I cannot claim that Milosevic is more guilty than Tudjman. They are very much alike, in terms of mentality and their way of thinking. Sometimes they seem like twins to me.

Academicians Petition for Milosevic's Resignation

LD0906225792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1308 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Jun (TANJUG)—A further 11 members of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts have signed a petition calling for the resignation of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, Academician Slobodan Selenic announced today.

The petition concerned is the one signed by 46 academicians on 4 June at a conference held after the academy's regular yearly assembly. The petition says, among other things, that "the withdrawal of Slobodan Milosevic from political life" would be assessed "as a gesture of the highest patriotism."

About 90 of the 134 regular and corresponding members of the Academy were present at the conference. The initiators of the petition suggested that the conference participants should adopt it as a stand of the academy but after several hours of debate the conference finished its work without voting on the suggestion.

The signing of the petition continues, said Slobodan Selenic.

Kosovo

Albanians Say No Talks Invitation Received

LD0906175692 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1620 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Text] Pristina, 9 Jun (TANJUG)—In reaction to a renewed invitation by Radoman Bozovic, president of the Government of the Republic of Serbia, to the Albanian parties and associations in Kosovo and Metohija for talks on Thursday in Belgrade, the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo [DSK] today claimed that "officially they have been told nothing."

Fehmi Agani, vice president of this, the largest political party of the Kosovo Albanians, told TANJUG in Pristina that "up to 1500 today we had not received any invitation from the Government of Serbia. We have heard through the media that we have been invited, but we do not know what kind of talks we are expected to attend. If an invitation is received tomorrow we, the DSK leaders, will discuss it and then decide whether to attend talks or not. For the time being, however, I cannot say anything more specific," Agani said.

In reaction to a previous invitation by the Serbian prime minister to representatives of all opposition parties at Kosovo and Metohija, DSK leader Ibrahim Rugova objected to, among other things, the fact that he had been sent, as he put it, "an unsigned circular." Representatives of the Albanian political parties in Kosovo often stress that they are in favor of "a serious dialogue about Kosovo under international arbitration or even better under UN auspices."

Rugova Says Aim To Become Part of Albania

AU1006085992 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 9 Jun 92 pp 160-161

[Unattributed interview with Ibrahim Rugova, chairman of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo; place and date not given: "'We Will Not Go Along With Such a Scheme'"]

[Text] Ibrahim Rugova, 46, head of the Democratic Alliance, was elected president in the parliamentary elections held by the Albanians in the province of Kosovo in late May; the elections were regarded as illegal by Serbia.

[DER SPIEGEL] Will the next armed conflict in the Balkans erupt in Kosovo?

[Rugova] The former federal army is enraged because the struggle against the Albanians did not turn into the first war; there it would have been able to win some laurels instead of being defeated in Slovenia. Serbian leader Milosevic has now become insecure because of the UN sanctions. Should he, nevertheless, decide in favor of attacking Kosovo, it cannot be ruled out that the United Nations will carry out its threat of a military

intervention. I would also immediately ask for foreign arms if the Serbs were to threaten Kosovo.

[DER SPIEGEL] Croatian President Tudjman has repeatedly called on the Kosovo Albanians to open the southern front against Serbia. Why did you not do it? Because of the EC?

[Rugova] Indirectly, yes. We were constantly told that our policy of passive Gandhi-style resistance is supported. Unfortunately, the coalition between Slovenes, Croats, and Albanians did not hold. My contacts with Zagreb ended one year ago.

[DER SPIEGEL] Serbia has claimed that in Kosovo the Albanians are armed to the teeth.

[Rugova] Compared with what the army has, our arms are nothing but toys.

[DER SPIEGEL] Is there any chance that Serbia will give in to your demands for an independent state of Kosovo?

[Rugova] The alternative, that is, a permanent hotbed of crisis within its borders, would not be desirable for Serbia. We would be ready to declare ourselves a neutral state and not unify with Albania for a certain time. However, I cannot deny that our objective is, of course, to become part of Albania.

[DER SPIEGEL] Albanian President Sali Berisha also thinks that the border with the former Yugoslavia must not be touched.

[Rugova] The Albanian leadership may also be under pressure from the EC, because the economic situation of Tirana is very bad. Still, the Albanian leadership cannot take the risk of not supporting us in our struggle for our rights.

[DER SPIEGEL] What other help do you expect?

[Rugova] If a war were to break out, the Albanians of Macedonia would probably also declare their solidarity with us. Besides, Albanians there account for 40 percent of the population and not 20 percent, as the government of Skopje likes to claim. Of course, I see the danger of the conflict becoming an international one. Seeing Macedonia "destabilized," Bulgaria might offer its support.

[DER SPIEGEL] Serbian intellectuals have toyed with the idea of dividing up Kosovo between Serbs and Albanians.

[Rugova] This would again leave one million Albanians outside their mother country. Besides, within the framework of such a "division," the Serbs do not only claim Pristina but also those areas of Kosovo that are rich in raw materials. We should content ourselves with the worthless territories. We will not go along with such a scheme. We would accept becoming a UN protectorate for a certain time. After all, it is extremely weird to have a Serbian minority of 8 percent governing and subduing 2 million Albanians.

[DER SPIEGEL] Although the Kosovo Albanians were actually granted the status of republic in 1974, violent demonstrations erupted in 1981.

[Rugova] We have wanted a state of our own since we freed ourselves from the Turks. In 1918, we entered Yugoslavia not as part of Serbia but as Kosovo. Being under the Serbian yoke is a tragedy for our people.

[DER SPIEGEL] What are examples of this suppression?

[Rugova] Well, by stating that the Albanians in Kosovo are people that have no "responsibility in the state"—whatever that may mean—we have practically become the rabble of the nation. Some 100,000 Albanians—from simple workers to university professors—have simply been fired since 1990. The unemployment rate among Albanians is now 90 percent. The economic situation is disastrous. We are absolutely dependent on the transfer payments from Albanians who work abroad.

[DER SPIEGEL] The Serbian prime minister invited you to Belgrade for talks. Will you go?

[Rugova] What I received was an unsigned circular letter inviting "all parties of Kosovo" to Belgrade for talks. Whenever the Serbs are up to their necks in trouble, they want to prove to the world that they are ready for dialogue. Later they will again put the screws on us. We have information that the police in Kosovo were instructed to prevent sessions by our newly elected parliament—if necessary through the use of force. One must enter into a serious dialogue regarding Kosovo, if possible under the auspices of the EC.

[DER SPIEGEL] Many young Albanians give one the impression that they are only waiting to settle their accounts with the Serbs. How much time do you still have to find a peaceful solution?

[Rugova] The number of radicals is growing. I am still in control of the situation—but it is difficult. Most Kosovo Albanians are patriots who worry about their future. However, it cannot be ruled out that one day they will become nationalists. Yugoslavia has fallen apart. All groups have set up independent states. So what about us 2 million Albanians?

Montenegrin

Students Hold Antiwar Rally Outside Assembly

LD0906224592 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Text] Podgorica, 9 Jun (TANJUG)—At a rally in front of the Montenegrin parliament this evening, held under the slogans "Give us Back the Future" and "With Love and Silence Against Madness," several hundred citizens of the Montenegrin capital voiced their disagreement with the current authorities and with the war taking place in the former Yugoslavia.

The organizers of this rally, the Students' Forum of Montenegro, called on representatives of all relevant political entities in the republic and prominent citizens to set up a government of civil unity, which would create conditions for lifting the sanctions of the international community against Montenegro; for establishing a dialogue and cooperation with the world; and for creating a new, democratic government. There were also demands that the Montenegrin Presidency should call on over 6,000 18-year-olds, who have already received draft papers, not to enlist for military service until the state and legal status of Montenegro has been defined.

The rally called on the Montenegrin authorities to dissociate themselves from, and refuse to help, all those contributing to the continuing destruction and human suffering in Bosnia-Hercegovina.